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The Tyndale Society

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Editorial

1996 ended for the Society on a particularly high note. The Oxford Conference and its companion conference in Leuven were unqualified successes. This issue of the Journal contains reports on both, and a selection of the short papers given at the Oxford Conference. The subsequent Lambeth and Hertford Lectures each drew large and appreciative audiences who were privileged to hear stimulating and thought-provoking lectures. Again, reports are to be found in the following pages.

And 1997 has started off with a bang. The *Let There be Light* exhibition is progressing triumphantly round the United States and David Daniell has continued to be our greatest Tyndale Ambassador to America with his accompanying lectures and television and radio broadcasts.

Exciting enterprises are in preparation, and we draw readers' attention to the call for papers for the St. Deiniol's Library Conference and that to be held in Point Loma Nazarene College, San Diego.

We continue to need new members and encourage Tyndale enthusiasts to spread the word, perhaps following the excellent example of David Green (see Letters to the Editor). Ian Sciortino sent information on the Tyndale Society and the U.S. tour to a contact in Portland, U.S.A., who published an article in a local paper, the 'Union Jack'. We will be interested to hear from any other evangelists.

Please send in your contributions for the next issue of the Journal. It is your articles, letters and comments that make it a varied and wide-ranging publication, and perhaps our biggest advertisement for the Tyndale Society.

The officers of the Society wish to express their particular gratitude for donations from Norman Tomlinson Jr. of Micromedia Affiliates Inc., Morristown, New Jersey, USA; and from Cudlow Lodge. The Editorial Board of *Reformation* record here their great gratitude to the Scriptorium, Grand Haven, Michigan, USA for an annual donation of \$5,000.00 towards publication costs of that journal.

Hilary Day

The Second Oxford International Tyndale Conference

Some ninety of us gathered and were warmly welcomed and registered by that most efficient Administrator, Mrs. Priscilla Frost, and her team, at Hertford College, Oxford on the afternoon of Sunday, September 1. As we got to know each other we found ourselves making friends with delegates from almost every corner of the globe. The atmosphere of the Conference was wonderful from the opening Service in Hertford College Chapel and the stirring address by Rev. Michael Chantry, the College Chaplain, to the final farewell and the departure of so many on the coach to Le Tunnel and Leuven.

It was particularly gratifying to have such a number of distinguished friends from the United States of America, from Canada, from New Zealand, from Tokyo and more. It is impossible to mention everybody who was present and contributed so much to the family atmosphere of the Tyndale Society gathered in Hertford College and it seems invidious to name but a few. I must, however, say what an honour and pleasure it was to have with us Dr. Guido Latré of the Catholic University of Leuven who was to be host to those who were fortunate enough to be able to go on to the second phase of the Conference in Belgium. He gave us a fascinating picture of Tyndale in Antwerp in his lecture on Tuesday morning. And how good to have Professor Carsten Thiede from Germany with us again. His lecture on Tyndale the European Scholar was a revelation. It was also an honour to us all to have Christopher Hill among us and there was much to be learnt from his lecture on Tyndale and Nonconformity.

The 'kick-off' to the four days before us was given, after the welcome address by Professor David Daniell, by an extraordinary demonstration of how to make a concordance with an up-date on how far she has progressed, by Dr. Deborah Pollard of the Department of Engineering, the Queen Mary & Westfield College, London, a good demonstration of the cross-fertilisation of disciplines. It was good, also, to have Dr. Tony Tyndale over from Canada, who has done such fascinating research into the family, relations and friends of his illustrious ancestor. I would also like to mention Ms. Kim Molinari from The Scriptorium, (Centre for Christian Antiquities, Michigan) for the paper she read on The Bible in Print in England before Tyndale, and Ms. Kaoru Yamazaki for her paper on Ecclesiology, Tyndale and More.

I personally was much impressed and, I would say, shaken by Chris Daniell's paper on The Reformers' Deaths. At the end of his talk there was a stunned and horrified silence. The details that Chris had researched of the methods of torture applied by both sides in so many of these case-histories of persecution led us all to reflect on what kind of creatures we are, descended from these forbears and even continuing similar atrocities on larger or smaller scale in so many parts of the world today. The potential for good and for evil of the human race (created by God for what purpose?) was staring us in the face at the end of this Second Oxford International Tyndale Conference. *[Chris's paper is printed in this Journal on page 11 – Ed.]*

I conclude on a lighter, more positive note with what was, for me, the apogee of the whole: Professor David Daniell's lecture Without Tyndale, no Shakespeare. When I told my friends of the Blackheath Branch of the Commonwealth Shakespeare Society the title of this lecture I was met with disbelief and outrage. As a Shakespeare devotee myself, I came eagerly expecting a catalogue of words and phrases which William may have learned from Tyndale's translations. What we got was so much more: the story of the great revolution in Education at the turn of the 16th–17th century which made Shakespeare possible. I do not recall the exact figure (and I hope we may have Professor Daniell's lecture in print at some time) of how many homes in which a copy of Tyndale's New Testament might be found by about 1603; but the point is that we now have William Shakespeare, no longer the untutored and ignorant genius who wrote plays by some extra-ordinary inspiration, but the educated scholar and conscious craftsman who knew what he was doing and did it supremely well.

And finally a word about the venue, our wonderful hosts, Hertford College. First I went to look at the William Tyndale Window, in the Chapel, a true work of art, so tastefully installed and lit. Then I found my way up to the Baring Room, the main location for all the lectures, up, dare I say it, 48 steps. I sat shamelessly on the 25th or 26th step, recovering my breath whilst younger and fitter men and women raced past me to be in time for this or the other lecture or short paper. When I got there the atmosphere and the acoustics were great and it was worth the climb. I thought of it as a sort of Ascent of Man, for the good of my soul.

Ian Sciortino

William Tyndale, the English Language and European Communications

Leuven, 5–8 September 1996

I viewed the approach of September 1996 with increasing doubt and trepidation: why had I been so rash as to respond to Peter Baker's urgent plea for more members of the Tyndale Society to attend the Conference at Oxford, and then arranged to go on to a further conference at Leuven? How would a gynaecological surgeon, whose main interest lay in Medical Ethics, fit in among the scholars meeting in Hertford College to discuss 'Tyndale's last years – Tyndale as Heretic'? My fears proved groundless – childhood instruction in the 'Authorised Version', love of the English language and literature, together with admiration of the courage of the Reformers, proved an adequate background. The lecturers had such command of their subjects that they spoke with a clarity which made them comprehensible and interesting to those who had minimal scholarship.

The Oxford Conference is reported elsewhere, but the absence of sectarian divisions and the friendliness of all the participants ensured that the group of 18 eagerly looked forward to going on to Belgium together. Dr. Guido Latré's lecture on 'Tyndale in Antwerp' anticipated what proved to be a truly memorable conference in Leuven. Guido was a delightful host as well as enthusiastic guide, and his meticulous planning made the conference run smoothly and unhurriedly. He attributed much of the success to 'Divine Providence' – how else could the Eurostar seats of the 2 parties be adjacent when they had been booked in Oxford and Brussels on different occasions?

We stayed in comfortable student accommodation in Leuven, and shortly after arrival set out to walk to the Groot Begijnhof for dinner. The warm evening sunshine displayed the magnificence of the recently cleaned Town Hall, the glowing peach coloured stone accentuating the intricate carving of its flamboyant Gothic style. Later we examined the 15th Century pedestals in detail, noting the 'sermons in stone' – each gave a dual example of sin and punishment, from the fate of a proud angel, Adam and Eve expelled from Eden and so on. The Beguinage now belongs to the University, providing accommodation for overseas students, but it was not hard to imagine the bustle and activity occurring there when the lay nuns nursed the sick and educated several hundred orphans.

The restored Beguinage Infirmary now houses the Faculty Club where dinner was served: it was easy to visualise the box beds lining the walls and the beguines ministering to patients. The menu of fillet of ostrich with peaches and a wonderful creamy desert was enjoyed with Guido's colleagues from the English Department: among them was Dr. Chris Coppens, Curator of Historical Books, who later lectured to us on 'The Printing Presses in the Low Countries in Tyndale's Time'. A gift of an antique painted canvas scroll, depicting the growth of world religions from Adam to 1832 in 'Tree of Jesse' style, was presented to our hosts by Professor Daniell and received with enthusiasm.

Friday was spent in Leuven with morning and afternoon lectures and a mid-day tour of the town. To me, Peter Auksi's account of 'Reason and feeling in Tyndale's thought within the context of Religious Controversy' was outstanding, especially regarding Tyndale's emphasis that the 'heart' as well as reason should rule life, e.g. 'repenting heart', 'lowly heart', culminating in the call 'to set our hearts on fire to love' both God and humanity. This was reminiscent of the British Library exhibition, 'Let there be Light' in 1994/5, which concluded by affirming that the words of Tyndale's Bible, after 500 years, still 'speak directly to the human heart'.

Another highlight was the afternoon visit to the Library of the Faculty of Theology, where we were able to handle valuable early illuminated and printed polyglot Bibles, maps, etc., as well as seeing an exhibition of Emblematics. (This priceless collection is particularly important to Leuven as the civic library was twice destroyed in the wars of 1913 and 1939.) We visited the computer laboratory where ancient Hebrew and Greek texts are being examined, and saw in action how shared scholarship can unite Roman Catholics, Protestants and Jews.

Saturday was spent in Antwerp, with a visit first to The Rubens House with its beautiful furnishings, leather wall-coverings and Italian Garden. Although extensively renovated, it still retains the atmosphere of a much loved home. After Guido's 'lecture' on the development of the diagonals, we saw Rubens' paintings with fresh eyes, and especially the two triptychs in the Cathedral of Our Lady ('The Raising of the Cross' and 'The Descent from the Cross'). Lunch at 't Hofke, approached through a narrow vine-covered alley near the College Trilinguum, was a fascinating experience, and this was followed by an unforgettable visit to the Plantin-Moretus Museum of Printing. Flower boxes of red pelargoniums graced the front of the building, which surrounded an arcaded courtyard and garden, where box hedges enclosed beds of old style flowers – in Balthasar Moretus' day the

majority would have been tulips. The thrill of seeing the ancient printing presses in use was increased when the three youngest members of our party were allowed to operate them. We tried to imagine a crowd of 30–40 people working in that room, setting the type in galleys by candlelight, preparing the paper and ink, and manually operating the heavy presses – the 16th century type was in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Chaldeic, as well as musical notation. We learned that the proof-readers were erudite men, able to correct the text as well as the type. Later, a forge had been established on the top floor (!) in order to experiment with metals in the hope of improving the type. Wonderful examples of early Bibles and musical scores were displayed, while portraits of members of the family, many by Rubens, adorned the walls. Five hundred years later, the Moretus family are still involved, and the family motto ‘*Labore et Constantia*’, below a pair of dividers, still applies.

The final morning (Sunday) was spent in Vilvoorde; first we visited the Tyndale Memorial (erected in 1913, and now situated in a small park) and then attended a short service at the Tyndale church, which also has a small Tyndale Museum. Professor Daniell read Hannah’s Song in 1 Samuel 2 from the Tyndale Bible. Belgium was then mourning the paedophile murder victims, with flags flying at half-mast, and Rev. D. Blom challenged us to choose the path of God which leads to Justice and Peace, whatever the cost. Although not mentioning Tyndale’s example, we realised that this is what Tyndale had done: he continued his work of translation in faith, in spite of the vicissitudes which culminated in his martyrdom.

To those who had been to Belgium previously with the Tyndale Society, the value of this conference was meeting more of the contributors to the Journal, deepening friendships and making new friends, as well as the ‘hands on’ opportunities when seeing again the inexhaustible museum treasures, while to the first-time participants, it was also a memorable experience of ‘the fellowship of kindred minds’. By the time we had the last lunch together in Brussels, we felt a true family, whose members ranged in age from mid-twenties to senior citizens.

We thank our Belgian hosts for their generous hospitality, and if there should be a future opportunity to hear Guido’s call to the ‘Tyndalians’ to gather round his ‘red umbrella’, be sure not to miss it - the occasion will prove rewarding and enriching (if not relaxing!), and certainly not intimidating.

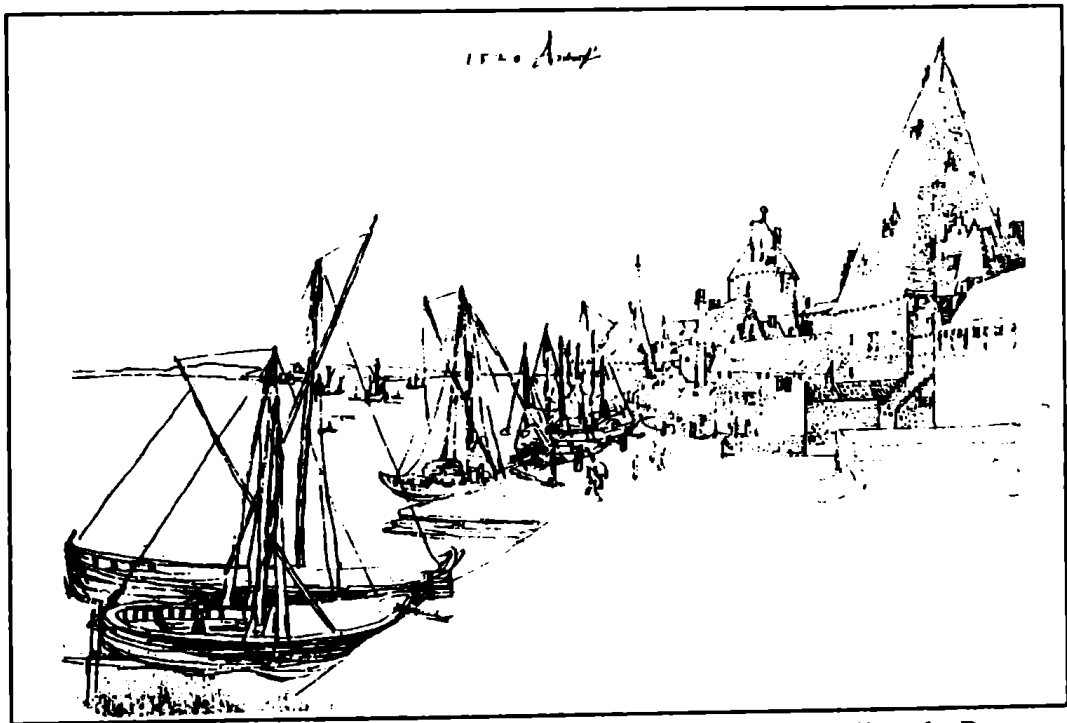
Eunice Burton

Note from the Chairman

In November 1996, Dr Eberhard Zwink of the Wuerttembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart, while superintending the transfer of a hand-written catalogue to computer, discovered a previously unrecorded copy of Tyndale's 1526 New Testament.

This sensational find increases rather than reduces the value of the British Library's copy, as it confirms the form and content of what we can now see as regular items from Peter Schoeffer's press in Worms. It is especially valuable in that it gives us for the first time a title page, which reads 'The new Testament as it was written, and caused to be written, by them which heard it. To whom also our saviour Christ Jesus commanded that they should preach it unto all creatures.'

As editor of *Reformation 2*, I was able at the very last minute to get an article on this find, and a facsimile of the title page, into that journal. Tyndale Society subscribers to *Reformation* will see it there. We hope that there will be fuller coverage of the find in the next issue of this Journal. Meanwhile, please note that Dr Zwink is speaking on the discovery in London on 26 April – see the announcement of the ½-day Society seminar.



ANTWERP, 1520. Pen. Albertina, Vienna. 213 x 283 mm. Albrecht Dürer.

The Deaths of the Reformers

In 1536 William Tyndale was strangled and then burnt at the stake. The strangulation, before the fire was lit, was a merciful action in recognition of his scholarly learning. It is to put his method of death into some kind of context that the deaths of other reformers will be analysed.

The main source for these accounts is Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (Townsend, G (ed) 'The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe' (London, 1843)). Foxe was principally concerned with the theological arguments between the English martyrs and their persecutors. The contemporary documents often fill many pages, with verbatim reports and closely argued debates. In the case of William Hunter, who was burned in 1555, the supporting documentation about his beliefs stretches to eight pages in the 19th century edition, whereas the account of his death lasts for approximately twenty lines. The trial and examination of John Hooper, the Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, is told by Foxe in forty-one pages. The treatment of his death is given in some detail but even so covers less than a page. The deaths of the martyrs was a gruesome, but largely incidental, part of Foxe's work.

Burning of heretics was the most common form of death, and had been used throughout the centuries. Other campaigns against heretics included the 12th and 13th century burnings of the Cathars and Waldensians in southern France, the burning of some Lollards in 15th century England and the use of fire by the Spanish Inquisition. In England burning was rarely used in the 15th century, and then usually for heretics or witches, but burnings increased greatly in prominence with the persecutions of the 16th century Reformation. In all there were probably over 600 people burnt for their faith between c.1500 and 1558. Foxe concentrates on the Protestant martyrs but occasionally gives accounts of the Catholic martyrs as well. Some of Foxe's accounts give the simple statement that the heretic was burnt, or that he does not have further information, but where he has obtained additional details he adds them. It is these details that form the basis of this paper.

The reason why heretics were burnt is not that clear. There was probably an element of trying to cleanse the soul (fire was seen as a cleansing agent), but other aspects probably included the value of a deterrent and the disposal of the body. The horror of non-burial was a real one to the Medieval mind. Equally horrific was the exclusion from the physical and spiritual community of the living and the dead. Burning could also, perhaps uniquely,

affect all the senses - touch (by heat), taste (by smoke), smell (the burning of flesh), sight and sound. The impact must have been tremendous.

The emotional impact could also be great, especially when a family was involved. Different people had different responses. When Laurence Ghest was burned at Salisbury in 1508 his 'Mind attempted to be swayed by fatherly affection for wife and seven children' (Foxe, Vol 4, page 126-7). One can imagine the desperate plight of the widow - herself probably excluded from the community by being the wife of a heretic. Occasionally enormous emotional pressure was applied. In 1553 a merchant called Matthieu Dimonet was burned at Lyons (4/414). Before his martyrdom he suffered 'Great problems with the temptation of his parents, brethren and kinfolks, and the sorrow of his mother, nevertheless he endured to the end'. Some wives were sympathetic, and John Browne's wife sat all night beside him whilst he was in the stocks before his burning. The tone of the account suggests she was giving him support for his action (4/181-2). When William Hunter was tried and burnt his parents supported him to the end (6/722) and did 'not follow him with lamentation, neither laboured, by their words, to draw him from his godly purpose'. Foxe says of them that they 'are no less to be accounted martyrs' for their own pain and constancy.

The reaction of the crowd could vary too. When Benet was burned in 1528 the 'devilish rage of the blind people' meant that they took 'sticks or furze to cast into the fire' (5/26). Pardons could also be given for wood collections. Forty days pardon was given in 1530 for the fire of Thomas Harding (4/581), a former priest. This meant that 'ignorant people caused many of their children to bear billets and faggots' for the burning. In 1538 a similar pardon was given to local dignitaries who went and cut down boughs and heaped them onto the fire (5/254). Seventeen years later, in 1555, young children danced around the fire saying 'Lord, strengthen thy servant' for which Foxe commends them and their parents (6/740). Although only three examples, the change in attitude of the crowd within seventeen years is an interesting one.

Children were also used, sometimes in psychologically horrible ways. When John Scrivener (4/245) and Joan Clerk (4/245) were burned, their children were ordered to light the fire. It was unusual for the children to be so directly involved, but in the case of John Browne, as he was being burnt, the bailey-arrant 'bade cast in Browne's children also, for they would spring, said he, of the ashes' (4/182). On the Continent women could be reprieved, if they bore a child, until after the birth, but were then martyred, as in the case of Gillot Vivere's wife Anna (4/394-5). Only one instance has been found of brothers or sisters being burnt at the same time, and the youngest

was burnt first (4/384). This pattern was followed in Lyons when five students were burnt – the eldest going to the stake last. It seems rare that the extended family was involved, although in one case from Toulouse in 1552 John Joery (4/409) actively encouraged his servant to be martyred with him. When the servant began to weep, his master comforted him and they began to sing. The impression given is of a servant torn between the love of his master and his weaker spiritual conviction. Sometimes family pressure won. In Scotland in 1528 James V persuaded his aunt, Katherine Hamilton, to recant so that she should be saved. Others in the party refused to recant and were burned.

If the martyr was determined upon a course of action then the normal outcome was to be burnt. It was rare for any other method of death to be used, although there is at least one reference to a wife being buried alive in Bergen in Germany in 1549 (4/391) and one or two cases of drowning. The cases of drowning are of particular interest because they fit into a known Medieval pattern. To the Medieval theological and literary mind true Christians and believers could not drown. The Biblical examples made this clear: Noah survived the flood and Jonah survived in the whale. In the New Testament Christ walked on water. Peter also walked on the water, but when he doubted, he began to sink. Medieval literature and theological works are full of Christians being saved and non-believers drowning. The bodies of non-believers or pagans were also thrown into rivers to be discarded, but if Christian bodies were thrown into the river they were discovered and given honourable burial. These are strong Medieval themes and they continue through Foxe's work. What is particularly interesting is that Foxe is probably citing local customs. He described how 'many godly persons' were thrown into the River Rhone and other rivers, (disposal of non-believers by Catholics) but then adds that their bodies were found, presumably by Protestants, and buried (4/360). Also in Germany Master Peter Spengler (4/366-8) was cast into the river to die, or in the case of Bertrand le Blas, his ashes were cast into the water (4/393-4).

One easy way for the authorities to avoid a public ceremony was for the person to die in prison. Sometimes there were sinister implications of murder, especially in the case of Richard Hunne who was found hanged in his cell. (For an in-depth examination of the case, see William Cooper's article in *Reformation* 1). The alternative was for people to die of the injuries. By their very nature these types of deaths were kept secret from the general public, thereby illuminating the need for a public display.

Burning, however, was by far the most common method of death and destruction. Apart from the act of burning there does not seem to have been

any hard and fast rules followed throughout Europe, but rather regional differences. The decision as to whether a death would be quick or slow seems to have depended on the persecutors viciousness or whim – a terrifying thought. The most lenient was to be strangled before the fire was lit. This happened to Tyndale, presumably because he was a learned scholar, although that is not given as a cited reason. This method of death was very uncommon. Two other instances were those of a widow called Wendelmute in Belgium (4/378) and John Pointet (4/397) in Paris, who was offered the option of being strangled because he had previously cured one of the persecuting friars.

If the person was not to be strangled then they would be burnt or suffocated. Smoke suffocation may have been common, but it is not often given in the accounts. One example was that of William Hunter who ‘cast his head again in the smothering smoke [and] yielded up his life’ (6/729). The speed of death could be controlled by the nature of the fire, which can burn with a quick, great heat, using dry wood, or with a more prolonged effect using green wood. When Laurence Saunders was burned at Coventry in 1555 (5/628) green wood was used, ‘and other smouldering, rather than burning fuel, which put him much more to pain’.

The weather could play a significant part, especially the wind. No reference has been found to rain dampening the fire, but the wind was a common hindrance. In the case of John Hooper the wind ‘blew the flame from him, and he was in no manner touched by the fire’. A second fire was lit which was more successful, but only when a third fire was lit did he eventually die. Thomas Bilney in 1531 also had the ‘flame departing and recouring thrice ere the wood took strength’ (4/654). An extreme example occurred in 1540 when Stephen Brune lasted almost an hour because the wind arose and blew the flames from him.

Whilst the person was being burnt they were normally tied to a stake. To raise the martyr above the fire and into the full view of the on-lookers, he or she might stand on a pitch barrel (as in the case of Bainham), stool (Hopper) or an inbuilt ledge on the stake itself (Bilney, 4/654). The view of the agonies was an attempt to be a deterrent and act as a visible punishment. A particularly interesting example was the burning of Henry Forest at St Andrew’s, Scotland. He was ‘burnt at the north church-stile of the Abbey church ... [so that] all the people of Forfar might see the fire’. The fire was deliberately positioned to be seen over large distances. This case is also interesting in that the fire was placed at the ‘north church-stile’ of the Abbey. The church-stile was presumably at the limit of the cemetery and so the fire was on a boundary between the secular and the ecclesiastical worlds,

but was part of neither. He was therefore excluded from both worlds. This placing of the fire seems exceptional – normally it was held in a square or other prominent secular place.

The treatment of the people about to be martyred could vary greatly. Many had been cruelly tortured and imprisoned previously to be burnt. The martyrs usually walked or were transported by a cart or dung-cart to their place of execution. In mid-sixteenth century England there does not seem to have been any ‘uniform’ that had to be worn, although in 1506 a group of English heretics had pieces of cloth sewn onto their clothing to distinguish them. An example of special clothing occurred in Bavaria when Leonard Keyser was ‘clothed in a short gown, and a black cap set upon his head, all cut and jagged’ (4/376-7). Maybe in the same tradition Kerby Clarke was burned in Suffolk in 1545 wearing a nightcap (5/531). The predominant form of attire in England was to be burnt in a shirt. When John Hooper (5/657) wanted to be burned in his doublet and hose, the sheriffs would not permit it and he had to take them off and stand in his shirt. Some alternatives are given: when Benet was burned he wore ‘a jerkin of neat’s leather’ (5/26). The role of clothing was probably to represent public shame. John Hooper, the once powerful Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, was reduced to wearing only a shirt. The public would have known him in his ecclesiastical robes, but during his last minutes he wore less than some of the poorest in the crowd. The public shaming was an important part of the ceremony.

A potentially important area of study occurs in the last speeches or words of the dying. Sometimes nothing is reported by Foxe, or only the basic minimum – such as when Laurence Saunders ‘often times fell flat on the ground and prayed’ (5/628). In other cases long speeches or the actual words are given. The method of gleaning these is revealed in the case of John Hooper. During his prayers ‘the mayor ... espied these men who made report of [Hooper’s] words, they were commanded away, and could not be suffered to hear any more’. (5/657). This gives the strong impression that there was a band of followers who took down his last words for posterity. If this was true in most cases, then Foxe must be given even more credence for factual reporting of the event.

Sometimes the last words were dismissive – some comparing the blazing fire to ‘roses under my feet’ (4/350). Some treated their death in a slightly theatrical, or unconcerned way, presumably they were sure that their soul was about to go to Heaven. When the four martyrs, Peerson, Testwood, Filmer and Marbeck, were tied to the stake a drink was passed between them (a rare occurrence) and Anthony Peerson ‘laid a good deal [of straw] upon

the top of his head, saying "This is God's hat; now am I dressed like a true soldier of Christ, by whose merits only I trust this day to enter into his joy" (5/494). The most commonly quoted Biblical texts were the Psalms, although there is no uniformity as to which Psalm was chosen. John Bertrand, a forester of Blois, sang Psalm 25, Thomas Bilney, (4/654) recited Psalm 54 (*Domine! exaudi orationem meam*—'Hear my prayer O Lord') and Dr Taylor (5/699) sang Psalm 51 'Miserere' in English. A nearby priest, called Sir John Skelton, objected and demanded that he say the psalm in Latin. When William Hunter was burned in 1555 he recited Psalm 84 (6/722), having previously read out Psalm 51 (6/728) and Stephen Knight recited part of Psalm 92 in his last prayers (6/740). Sometimes the psalms or last words of the martyr were offensive to the authorities who tried to stop them. In France competition developed between a group reciting psalms who were being burnt, and a group of priests who retaliated by singing 'O salutaris hostia' and 'Salve kegina' (4/402). At Tournai, Thomas Calbergue (4/419) sang psalms as the warden of the friars stood crying 'Turn Thomas, Turn! yet it is time ...' A more drastic method was the use of trumpeters. When Arnold Moniere and John de Cazes were burned in Bordeaux (4/425), trumpeters were commanded to sound during the time of their suffering to stop the people hearing the martyrs. In this case it may have been feared that the martyrs had the power to sway a sympathetic crowd, or that the crowd was susceptible to other beliefs.

From Foxe's accounts it appears that there was no standard treatment of martyrs at the stake and the treatment of the English martyrs was less vicious than most. There are many lines of enquiry which can be followed, such as an analysis of the last speeches and the treatment of the martyrs in prison. Yet perhaps the most interesting line of research is the reaction of the crowd to the burnings, for the change from support for the burnings, to support for the martyr might mark the rise of popular and deep rooted support for the Reformation in England. Even so, it is difficult to judge the impact of the burnings upon the spectators and those directly involved. Foxe does not often record the reactions of individuals and no instance has been found of any conversions as a direct result of the burnings.

This analysis was to put Tyndale's martyrdom into context, but it also reveals the terrible suffering of the other martyrs. Yet despite their suffering their faith was so strong in Christ and their own beliefs that they were willing to face a painful death. Whatever horrors awaited them at the stake, their fear, pain and agonies were overcome by their faith in Christ.

Christopher Daniell

Tyndale as Rhetorician: the Next Generation of Research

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The time and occasion for a full, intensive, and many-sided appreciative analysis of Tyndale's verbal artistry seem particularly appropriate. The flurry of international activity undertaken during the quincentennial year (or, more properly, years) has subsided to a sustainable level, and the limited world of Tyndale scholarship can indeed say that much of the basic work on Tyndale's historical moment, on his ideas and theology, and on his influence or significance has been initiated if not completed. The new millennium which is almost upon us invites us to look back as historians, and to look forward as visionaries. We are, I think, at a propitious moment, standing on the shoulders of at least one generation of groundbreaking scholarship, and so we are poised to see Tyndale more clearly and contextually as a writer and stylist, as a rhetorician in the widest sense, not just as a deployer of this figure or that device. For this appreciation we need particularly to re-examine his polemical and exegetical prose, which quite rightly does not have the fame and influences of his biblical translations.

When my title speaks of 'the next generation of research', I am not of course prescribing *ex cathedra* what should or must be done by any researcher. Analysts of Renaissance prose, especially of Tyndale's achievement, are a notoriously stiff-necked, self-directed, and unruly lot, and would as soon take direction from me as coalminers from a pit boss. My title is more humble, and self-serving in a scholarly sense: that is, what do I as a sometime analyst of Tyndale's prose need to know about his qualities and verbal/stylistic patterns so that further significant research can be undertaken? More important, what do other students of Renaissance prose need to know about those qualities so that their own work on his literary achievement may advance?

What has limited or hindered our appreciation of Tyndale as a writer? That he was a biblical translator, for one. I say that knowing full well the breadth and depth of the subtle analysis extended to his phrases and diction: these often reveal great humanity, an exquisite ear, and sheer staying power. But where the study of translation goes, the analysis of polemic does not. A

second impediment has been the contextualization of Tyndale in the history of the Reformation and in earlier movements of reform; here Tyndale's theological emphases matter, or his polemical targets – not the medium of the polemic. Any of the recent anthologies featuring quincennial conference papers will reveal the minority position occupied by the belles lettrists. And thirdly, the fact that his extra-biblical work involved exegesis and/or polemic militates in a curious way against literary analysis, for neither mode involves an identifiable form or set of traditions, open to comparative evaluation. Exegesis or polemic seem to represent an occasion rather than a genre, and hence invite the historian more than the analyst of style.

Before I outline what needs to be done at this juncture in Tyndale literary studies, I would like to glance back at what has been done. In the beginning, not very much. The two early studies of Tyndale, by Robert Demaus in 1886 and J.F. Mozley in 1937, remain basically biographies, with a few grudging side-glances at issues of style. Demaus establishes some of the ground rules for later analysts. There is first the glorious prose of the biblical translator, and then, secondarily, the more pedestrian medium of the polemicist. In the *Obedience of a Christian Man*, concedes Demaus, Tyndale 'wields the English language with a strength and facility, such as make his writings easy and pleasant reading even in our day'. And Demaus' praise always takes the biblical translations as a point of departure. The *Obedience*, he explains, 'contains many passages worthy of the writer to whom we owe the plain, strong English of our Bible'. And pious Victorian moralist that he is, Demaus can not help noting Tyndale's 'consciousness of the will of God' in pursuing his 'noble task', as well as his reliance, not so much on worldly or human gifts, as on 'the aid of the Spirit of God'. For his New Testament, continues Demaus, Tyndale produced 'a model of the highest literary excellence, simple, honest, and manly; free alike from the pedantry of the verbal scholar, and the affected point and force of the mere man of letters.' That estimate is no doubt true, but why Demaus does not see those qualities in Tyndale's secular prose is not clear to me. Demaus appreciates his subject's ability to show that the 'capacity' of his English 'was unbounded', and 'that in simplicity, strength, musical flow, ability to relate gracefully and perspicuously, [and] to touch the feelings ... it yields to no language ancient or modern.' Presumably a different artist, disengaged from his merely secular subject matter, wrote the polemical works. And even in the biblical prose, Demaus finds a hierarchy of merit. The prose of the New Testament translation is clearly better than that of his Old, though he does find in it 'clearness of apprehension and precision of language' (much

stronger than anything found in Cranmer, Latimer, or Ridley – Demaus' comparative perspective is very interesting). Still, it is only 'sometimes' that the phrasing of the Old Testament translation approaches the eloquence of the New.

Four seminal themes appear in Demaus' critique: Tyndale's biblical prose is not of a piece with his secular writing; Scripture received his best artistic efforts; the spirit and will of God helped to make his biblical prose what it is; and his New Testament translation far outstripped the lesser effort of the Old. What I have quoted are scattered pieces; there is no sustained critique of Tyndale as a 'mere man of letters'.

J.F. Mozley's biography, which appeared in 1937, continues the theme that Tyndale's biblical translations embodies his finest prose. Now, however, the *sources* of that excellence are actively contemplated. Mozley pointedly praises Tyndale's 'homely and popular touches' in the renderings: 'He chooses the simplest Anglo-Saxon words, and sets them out with a noble directness. He has no conceits, he never aims at grandeur.'

Mozley's key contribution, however, is to move critical attention towards the non-biblical prose, especially the styling of *The Obedience of a Christian Man*. 'As a piece of English', writes Mozley, 'it is magnificent'. Mozley judiciously claims that here 'at times his denunciation attains an extraordinary power of terse and vivid eloquence', but his evaluation of Tyndale's *Answer* to More is more guarded if still pioneeringly positive. This text is a triumph of decorum: 'the Style of Tyndale's *Answer*', argues Mozley, 'matches the content':

It is plain and workmanlike, terse, direct, and vigorous. It lacks the gracefulness of More's *Dialogue*, but it is more robust, and moves forward more quickly and surely, though there is, as usual, some repetition. There is no fine writing or straining after artistic effect, yet every now and then we happen upon some outburst of noble eloquence.

The grudging compliment lowers itself into outright reservation and criticism in the case of *The Practice of Prelates*, where, writes Mozley, 'the fierceness and even savagery of tone can be excused.' As a translator, Tyndale is 'unrivalled', but as a pamphleteer, replaceable. 'Despite its force and a few passages of fine English, we should gladly exchange *The Practice of Prelates*', declares Mozley, 'for another Old Testament book from his pen.' To Mozley we also owe the discovery of some rare contemporary reaction to Tyndale's seeming coarseness as a literary artist. The writer is Stephen Vaughan, who was sent to spy on the heretical refugee. On June 19, 1531 Vaughan admitted that Tyndale's answer to chancellor More 'was

unclerkly done', but then added: 'and so seem all his works to eloquent men, because he useth so rude and simple style, nothing seeking any vain praise and commendation.'

The second stage of appreciation of Tyndale as rhetorician occurs in the 1960s with the appearance of studies by Duffield, Pineas, and Williams: these three at times make a firm case for the serious study of Tyndale as literary artist, and are in fact preceded and encouraged by a little noticed appreciation produced in 1932 by R.W. Chambers. Prefaced to an edition of Harpsfield's *Life of More*, Chamber's essay on 'The Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School' notably compares More's prose to Tyndale's, and does not find the Reformer wanting in grace or force. There are some 'differences of style' between the two, observes Chambers, but fundamentally 'they both write the same English'. Tyndale clearly is a worthy enough stylist to be considered in the same breath as More. In rhetoric, argues Chambers, 'they had the same breath as More'. In rhetoric, argues Chambers, 'they had for the most part received one and the same training'. Concludes Chambers: 'The religious quarrel concealed a continuity which it could not destroy'. For Chambers, Tyndale is not a mere translator, or inspired solitary genius piping his untutored native wood-notes wild, but a first-rate writer, comparable in all points to More, and part of a long-standing tradition of deliberate and crafted prose styling.

Duffield's 1964 edition of the *Work* of Tyndale concentrates on evaluating the biblical prose, namely, 'his idiomatic homely conversational style'. Writes Duffield: 'He wants to tell the ordinary man what the Bible says, and so he is colloquial ... His language is simple, terse, idiomatic, and homely.' Yet Duffield is also aware of Tyndale's secular literary achievement, especially in the context of the age, and pointedly observes that 'Tyndale shows none of the pompous Latin prose style which was in fashion at the time.' Indeed, Duffield is one of the first to insist on the oral, populist sources of the Reformer's artistry: 'Tyndale was a master of rhythm, and his rhythm is that of spoken not literary English ... His language is that of the ordinary people, though it never becomes debased.'

In *Thomas More and Tudor Polemics* (1968), Rainer Pineas focuses narrowly on 'Tyndale's Techniques of Language, Reasoning, Form and Accusation', most strikingly on Tyndale's use of sarcasm ('not specifically advocated by any of the rhetoric books he might have studied'), his heavy reliance on irony, and 'his use and abuse of reasoning'. Pineas is struck by 'Tyndale's meager use of syllogistic logic', and notes that, 'While Tyndale makes little use of the formal syllogism, he does often attempt proof by

analogy.’ Adds Pineas: ‘Closely related to Tyndale’s use of analogies is his use of illustrations from popular speech to support his arguments.’ And under ‘abuse of reasoning’, Pineas would include the Reformer’s ‘polemical use of sophisms and specious reasoning’. Running through Pineas’ analysis is the uncommonly reasonable assumption that we are dealing with a deliberate artist, well versed in all matters rhetorical.

In 1969 C.H. Williams issued a new if substantially conventional biography of Tyndale, laced with both useful and misleading evaluations. ‘In his prose’, notes Williams helpfully, ‘there are far fewer latinate passages and tortuous clauses leading everywhere and nowhere than are found, for example, in More’s English works’. Williams identifies ‘fluent ease of expression in simple colloquial English’ as his subject’s most ‘conspicuous’ stylistic feature, adding that Tyndale ‘saw to it that his language should be plain, unpretentious and devoid of all literary affection’. Unfortunately, however, Williams locates the source of that style in ‘the asceticism which was so essentially a part of [Tyndale’s] nature’, and confuses artful plainness with a lack of art: ‘Tyndale paid little heed to the language in which he clothed his thoughts’, contends Williams. ‘He had no use for tricks of rhetoric. Fine writing was always suspect since it could so easily conceal errors of thought. That is why he was so scornful of what he called More’s “figures of poetry”.’ Ultimately Williams falls victim to the topos of false humility by believing the illusion of artlessness fostered by the consummate artist when he claims, most unhelpfully, that Tyndale’s ‘own translations and his original writings have all the quality of unpremeditated and unconscious artistry.’

Three major appreciations have helped to re-direct research in the last 50 years: Gavin Bone’s 1938 essay ‘Tindale and the English Language’, Norman Davis’ 1971 lecture *Tyndale’s English of Controversy*, and David Daniell’s 1994 biography. At its point in time, Bone’s essay is a remarkable piece of re-evaluation. Because Bone can not fathom how ‘so scrupulous a prose’ should appear suddenly *in vacuo*, he turns to its possible sources in medieval prose traditions (he identifies three) and to its very distinctive nature. It is, first, a poetic and rhythmic prose. Writes Bone: ‘It is prose written in short lengths and the old punctuation of bars drawn across at the end of the rhythmical clause brings this out more clearly than the modern commas. It is prose whose stresses are carefully separated from each other.’ Primary to this rhythm are monosyllables. ‘Polysyllables are difficult’, observes Bone, ‘as they run away with a sentence at a great rate and one lands with a jerk.’ Second is popular speech, and Bone is acute in his

perception of 'how richly gifted Tyndale was in his appreciation of spoken idioms'. He then adds: 'There is no vestige of literariness in his writings ... Malory had a sure literary touch, Tyndale was all unconscious.' I am not at all certain that this is a useful comment. Indeed, I think Bone confuses the end or appearance of simplicity with the means, which can be very complex, when he writes of Tyndale, only half correctly: 'In all his works there is no trace of writings for effect. In his original books he goes steadily and says straight what he means.' And that Bone should end his perceptive essay with the sentence—'It is an ironical thing that any essay should come to be written on Tindale the literary artist'—threatens to undo the literary value of the preceding 30 pages. Bone's very enterprise confirms the literariness of his chosen subject.

In giving the Chambers Memorial Lecture on 4th March, 1971, Davis returns to the comparison that Chambers had drawn between More and Tyndale, and now revises the old view. Tyndale, indeed, is 'eventually a far more potent force in the history of English' than was More, and Davis gives proper attention to the magisterial evaluation of C.S. Lewis:

Where Tyndale is most continuously and obviously superior to More is in style. He is, beyond comparison, lighter, swifter, more economical. He is very unadorned (an occasional alliteration, some rhetorical repetitions, some asyndeton) but not at all jejune. The rhythm is excellent, the sort of rhythm which is always underlining the argument.

As for 'some rhetorical repetitions', observes Davis, 'In fact they abound, combined with many varieties of balance and antithesis.' And though Davis declares that 'Tyndale had strong reservations about figurative language', I would argue in fact that figurative language abounds, if subtly.

Davis is at his best when dealing with Tyndale's colloquialisms and proverbs. He calls 'This colloquial, robust part of the language' a 'strong element in his controversial work', but thinks it is 'by no means the prevailing one.' Davis is also first-rate on Tyndale's syntax, on 'the shape of [his] sentences'. Observes Davis: 'Most are comparatively simple and short, linked in the manner of the time to what precedes either by *and* or *but* or by a relative; there are few elaborate periodic structures in any of the treatises, and not many absolute constructions.' Davis concludes his imposing assessment with a tantalizingly brief analysis of a passage whose 'manner ... is his best: even, grave rhythm, familiar words; and yet towards the end a figure bold and strong in an old tradition, lifting the prose to poetry.' Davis does not name or probe that 'tradition', but his point is clear and true:

Tyndale's best prose is poetic prose, infused with *conscious* artistry and a wealth of figures entirely beyond the reach of folk culture and oral tradition.

Although aspects of style are secondary to the purpose of David Daniell's new and dramatic 1994 biography of Tyndale, they are primary to his establishment of the Reformer as a significant and powerful writer. Like his fellow biographers, Daniell is keenly appreciative of Tyndale's simplicity of language. In the early Cologne Prologue of 1525, for example, Daniell quickly isolates Tyndale's 'striking avoidance of complicated or technical abstract words, going for plain vocabulary, as concrete as possible.' Most importantly, Daniell locates the roots of Tyndale's artistry in popular and local cultures. The Reformer's vernacular Bible, he stresses, was made 'in the language people spoke, not as the scholars wrote.' Daniell's insistence that 'Tyndale's base was the speech of the Vale of Berkeley ... [and] speech-forms peculiar to the Vale of Berkeley' is, I think, a major advance post in Tyndale research towards which the infantry has yet to turn. Tyndale undoubtedly used his Oxford rhetorical training and the technical artifice of late medieval preachers, but 'the unconscious ground', as Daniell terms it, was the language of his neighbours, parents, officials, friends, priests and ploughboys.

That said, what needs to be researched? A great deal, Daniell notes. 'Tyndale as conscious craftsman has been not just neglected, but denied', he writes, adding: 'Analysis of his rhetorical skills as a translator has barely begun'. I would add that this lacuna applies to his expository and polemical prose too. In the *Obedience*, for example – and I cite Daniell again – 'almost in every sentence there can be found and analyzed a kaleidoscope of technical, rhetorical devices'. Not only does Daniell find 'rhetorical organization' to be 'characteristic of most of Tyndale's writing', as well as the obvious passion, but also (in the *Obedience* again) 'the craftsmanly skill which ... knows coolly and exactly how the mechanisms of word-order work'. I agree entirely. To understand the Reformer as writer, the researcher must contextualize him within 'the late medieval and early humanist methods of rhetoric'. Notes Daniell: 'This is a huge field – more like a continent – which has never been properly explored'. Anyone who contemplates a presentation piece of Isocrates must obviously be aware of the tropes, schemes, and figures of classical rhetoric up to his eye teeth.

Daniell has two further observations of value. 'It is time', he asserts, 'to recognize in Tyndale a confident technical craftsmanship outside controversy – the bulk of his writing, after all.' The exegete as rhetorician is a quietly challenging topic. Secondly – and this is perhaps Daniell's most

important point – ‘To local Gloucestershire forms of speech we must add as an influence an awareness of a native tradition of writing. That is a matter quite unexplored, on which much work remains to be done.’ Here Daniell would include prayers and ‘collects’, songs, proverbs, ballads, and popular romances – a whole continent, I would add, of unacknowledged, often oral material.

I end with four clear areas that need thought and research. I can give these in skeletal form because they have already supplied the meat and muscle in my overview of the past; indeed, the seeds of future research are there in what has already been done, even if sketchily or partially.

First, we need to develop a linguistic and stylistic profile of Tyndale, a stylistic context. What is Tyndale’s fingerprint as a writer? This would involve analysis of his diction, for example. Compared to his contemporaries (say, More and Fisher, Latimer and Cranmer), is his diction more polysyllabic or monosyllabic? More or less rooted in Old English as opposed to Latinate sources? What statistically is his average sentence in length? Is it phrasal or clausal in structure? What is the proportion of simple to complex and compound sentences? The average of dependent clauses per sentence? Computers and technological resources can help this enterprise enormously, as they have in Shakespeare studies, where we have a very clear series of syntactical and verbal ‘fingerprints’ that tell us whether an anonymous text in any way resembles Shakespeare’s. Bone and Davis have focused on some preliminary aspects of Tyndale’s syntax, as have Demaus, Mozley, Bone and Daniell on his diction.

Second, we need to do some imaginative, intensive research into the traditions of prose artistry from which Tyndale’s skills could have evolved. Bone has suggested three separate late medieval traditions: the prose of narrative [the Romances of Caxton, Malory, and Berners]; the prose of religious musing and mystical exaltation [the *Cloud of Unknowing*; the works of Walter Hilton and Richard Rolle]; and the prose of information, of exposition [treatises of Capgrave, Fortescue, and Pecoock]. Other obvious strands would be the poeticized, highly rhetorical prose of academic preaching, as well as the colloquialism and homeliness of vernacular preaching, a topic so ably begun by G.R. Owst 50 years ago.

Third would be some extended investigation of his rhetorical training, and rhetorical qualities – the latter examined in part to-date by Pineas, Davis, and Daniell. What did Tyndale’s early schooling involve from the perspective of rhetoric? What do we know of university curricula in rhetoric at the beginning of the sixteenth century? And how close can we get to the

oral traditions of popular preaching? As for Tyndale's figures of rhetoric, especially his characteristic or repeated ones, there are many models of analysis from which to choose, not all as forbidding as the critical apparatus which has been applied to, say, Donne, Milton, Spenser, and Shakespeare as rhetoricians. In any event, Tyndale's often poeticized prose can be described as 'unconscious' or 'unartistic' only by perverse oversight, or oversight.

Fourth, and this is the most crucial area, is what might be termed his 'sources' in unwritten popular art, as Duffield, Davis and Daniell have intimated. How *can* we possibly approach 'the language of the people' in any period? I would suggest letters as one area where colloquial elements can be seen through the often dense veneer of prescribed stylistic levels and devices. Oral and pre-literate elements are there also in recipe books, texts of folk medicine, and certain catechistical manuals. I am also thinking of the work of historians like David Rollison, whose work on *The Local Origins of Modern Society: Gloucestershire 1500-1800* appeared in 1992. This period for Rollison is 'predominantly preliterate', and his primary interest is in 'the preliterate culture of the localities where the work went on submerged beneath the distorting prism of written text'. For Rollison, the written word 'has everywhere been in iconoclastic movement. It carried with it the delegitimation of the oral and aural cultures which the bulk of the world's population had inhabited' since time began. How do we or can we reconstruct Tyndale's energizing relationship with these 'oral and aural cultures?' Rollison has one representative answer, a list which John Smith of Nibley wrote down in 1639 of 'certain words, proverbs, and phrases of speech, which wee hundreders [of Berkeley] conceive ... to bee not only native but confined to the soile bounds and territory thereof'. Smith's sayings contain physical landmarks, seasonal habits of husbandry, arboriculture, markets, marriage, landscape, and animal imagery. As Rollison puts it, Tyndale's 'family and the culture of the Vale communities shaped him first, gave his thought its characteristic structures and expressions.'

The greatest challenge for the next generation of Tyndale scholars will be the formal and academic description of an artist whose roots and forms in so many ways are non-academic, oral and pre-literate.

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John Colet, Heretic?

Tyndale's Assertion Reconsidered

William Tyndale had clearly moved into the center ring. He had drawn the full attention and wrath of Sir Thomas More, who had been directing his most vituperative assaults against leaders of the fledgling Protestant movement for several years. Now it was Tyndale's turn.

More's intent by 1528 was clear, as stated by Tyndale's most recent biographer: 'to do all he could as a royal councillor to bring the power of both church and government to bear against the heretics, to crush them and their beliefs, and if need be to burn heresy out of England with fire.'¹ So, for the first time, More began to write against these heretics in the English language.²

The immediate result was More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies*, published in June of 1529 and aimed primarily at Tyndale. This work appeared just before More was elevated to the office of Lord Chancellor.³ The *Dialogue* was republished in 1531 and 1557.⁴

Tyndale's response came in 1531 with *An Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*. More refused to quit and continued the literary battle thereafter, countering Tyndale's response with the *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* in 1532. Getting yet another 'last word', More's *Apology*, published in 1533, was also directed in part against Tyndale.

In Tyndale's *Answer* he makes a reference to John Colet: 'He (i.e., the bishop of London, Richard FitzJames) would have made the old dean Colet of Paul's an heretic, for translating the Paternoster in English, had not the bishop of Canterbury (i.e., William Warham) help the dean.'⁵

Why did Tyndale even make such an assertion in the *Answer*? First, it is clear that Tyndale is responding in part to More's attacks on his translation work by pointing out the obvious, i.e. that he is not the first English church figure to translate something of significance into English. Second, Tyndale makes explicit use of Colet because the memory of Colet was respected and his reputation presumably still intact. Third, he makes specific reference to Colet because Tyndale undoubtedly knew that More and Colet (and Erasmus) had all been friends.⁶

So as a very small part of his defense against the Lord Chancellor's attack Tyndale invokes the name of More's old friend Colet as having done something quite similar to the offense with which Tyndale is charged. And

Colet had experienced, as Tyndale was now, the disfavor and even assault of the reigning ecclesiastical authorities.

The question immediately arises, however, whether Tyndale has gotten this right. Was Colet, indeed, charged with heresy by his bishop, FitzJames, and precisely on this point, for translating the Pater Noster? Few historians have grappled with this issue, at least without simply 'settling' it by resorting to their preconceptions of the true nature of Colet's role in the sixteenth century ecclesiastical history of England.

The starting point of this portion of the inquiry is with Tyndale's sources for this assertion. Unfortunately, there are only a few possibilities extant at our chronological distance.

If Colet had ever been charged with heresy, it could only have been while he was serving as dean of St. Paul's, i.e. between 1504/5 (his appointment to the Deanery) and his death in 1519.⁷ An accusation by the bishop of London against Colet might very well have become known to Tyndale, who was presumably at Oxford a good deal of the time period under consideration, through the venerable grapevine of ecclesiastical and/or academic gossip. A conflict of such import involving the prestigious Dean and the at least equally prestigious bishop of London, surely would have generated substantial discussion in the circles in which Tyndale presumably moved. However, such oral evidence is beyond our reach.

What of written sources? The only relevant contemporary sources we possess are the letters of Erasmus. Among these, one stands out: a 1521 letter to Justas Jonas, lately of Wittenberg, in which Erasmus sets out the twin biographies of John Colet and Jehan Vitrier.⁸

In this 1521 sketch, Erasmus discusses explicitly – if vaguely in a few key places – accusations of heresy brought by the bishop of London against John Colet. Erasmus writes that FitzJames and two other unnamed bishops, all having impure motives, 'laid an information' against Colet before William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury.⁹ According to Erasmus, Colet was charged with three named offenses: attacking the 'worship' of images; misinterpreting the meaning of Jesus's words 'feed my sheep' in John chapter 21; and denouncing the practice of some clerics who read their sermons. Additionally, Erasmus vaguely recounts, Colet was accused of 'even more absurd' heresies, which remain unspecified. The passage ends with the whole matter coming to nought, as the Archbishop intervened and 'protected the innocent', i.e. Colet, who never deigned to reply to the charges.¹⁰

So has Erasmus accurately recorded heresy charges against the dean of St. Paul's by his bishop? Colet's most recent biographer, John Gleason, thinks

not. Gleason attacks Erasmus' account on the following bases.¹¹

First, Gleason argues that the charges against Colet, as recorded by Erasmus, were simply too insubstantial to be taken seriously. As for the first charge, Gleason notes that veneration (the cult of *dulia*) was certainly allowable but adoration (*latria*) or worship was not. This could not have been the basis for such an accusation of heresy, unless the accusers were interpreting Colet as attacking the entire cult of images in its entirety. Gleason rejects the plausibility of this interpretation, though, since there is evidence that Colet wished such images to remain on the walls of his intended place of retirement after his death.¹²

As to the second charge, Gleason states that there was no official interpretation of John 21, hence Colet could not have crossed any line between orthodoxy and heresy at that point. And lastly, there was surely nothing heretical about attacking the practice of reading sermons.¹³ Then he points out that FitzJames would certainly have realized how weak these assertions were and wouldn't have made them.¹⁴

Thirdly, Gleason doubts the accuracy of Erasmus's account given the context of the letter to Jonas in which they appear. Erasmus was writing to convince Justas Jonas to leave the side of Luther and return to the sanctity and safety of the Roman fold. In so doing, Erasmus presented two short biographies, those of John Colet and Jehan Vitrier, as alternative models of Christian learning and piety – both of whom stayed within the Church. The prince of humanists hoped Jonas would find his role model in one of these two, rather than the wild Saxon monk. Thus, in Gleason's interpretation, Erasmus painted the picture of Colet as a persecuted, pious academic, flimsily charged with heresy by his mean spirited bishop. Erasmus did so, Gleason says, to engender 'sympathy' from Jonas toward Colet.

On one hand, in depicting Colet as accused of heresy he is seeking to enlist Jonas's sympathy and interest. On the other hand, was his object to keep Jonas within the Catholic fold. Hence the only heresies he actually mentions are so unheretical that Colet is clearly well within the doctrinal framework of the traditional church.

One is left wondering, however, how such a portrayal of Colet is supposed to have made Jonas feel sympathetic and want to emulate Colet.

Thus Gleason casts doubt over Erasmus's entire description of Colet's being charged with heresy. There may have been some deeper issues involving Colet which were known to Erasmus, but glossed over in his comment that 'Colet disdained to reply to these charges, and to others that were still more absurd'. And it is from Erasmus's account, Gleason argues,

that Tyndale gets his idea that Colet was so charged for translating the Lord's Prayer into English. It should be noted, however, that Erasmus makes no mention whatsoever of such translation being the basis of an indictment by the bishop, nor does he ever suggest Colet made such a translation.

So what are we left with? According to Gleason, Colet must have crossed swords with his bishop (although Gleason's ultimate explanation is that this had to do with Colet's association with Wolsey, driving a wedge between the Dean and his bishop). Erasmus recognized this, Gleason believes, but toned it down or misdirected the reader. Of course, Tyndale's assertion of the charge against Colet has nothing to do with the 'charges' listed by Erasmus. Erasmus is utterly silent about any English translation of anything. And if Colet had been so charged, why wouldn't Erasmus have mentioned it in the biographical letter (that is, unless it comes under Erasmus's 'more absurd' charges category)?

Here the context and purpose of the letter to Jonas become important. Remember, Erasmus was writing in an effort to woo Jonas from the clutches of the erring Luther. So Erasmus presented him with two alternatives to Luther as examples of Christian piety: Vitrier and Colet. Wouldn't Jonas be better off following one of their examples, of these two saintly individuals who stayed within the fold of the Roman Catholic Church? Of course, Erasmus completely failed in his attempt and Jonas became a life-long, dedicated Lutheran.

But a question remains: why did Erasmus even include the references to charges of heresy in this biographical account if, as it has often been asserted, Erasmus was playing a little fast and loose with the factual details in order to win back young Jonas? Wouldn't the picture of Colet be more attractive if he weren't portrayed as an accused (even falsely) heretic, who had to do battle with ecclesiastical leadership that had impure motives? Doesn't that come dangerously close to how Jonas may have perceived Dr. Luther as well? If so, doesn't that fail as a rhetorical device put to use by the prince of humanists? Then why even mention it?

The simplest answer would seem to be that Erasmus included the heresy accusation story because it actually happened. Of course, that alone might not be reason enough for Erasmus to include it. However, it might also have been true that Jonas may have heard that the late Dean of St. Paul's had been charged with heresy. Perhaps Erasmus needed to acknowledge that fact, then try to lessen its impact on Jonas by ascribing impure motives of envy, etc. to those who pursued the downfall of the righteous Colet. And just possibly Erasmus may have watered down slightly the nature of the charges

against Colet – which fits in nicely with Gleason’s observations that the charges Erasmus asserts were not in themselves all that serious and unlikely to have generated a full scale response by the Church against Colet.

There is another tantalizing reference in one of Erasmus’s letters, however, that may cast some light on this mysterious area of darkness. On All Saints’ Eve 1513 Erasmus wrote to Colet. The letter opens with the line: ‘I cannot tell you how much I congratulate you on recovering your quiet’.¹⁶ This has been the subject of much speculation, although most interpreters believe it to be a reference to troubles with FitzJames. What are even more interesting for us, however, are the concluding sentences of the letter:

I congratulated you in my last letter and now congratulate you again *for having returned to preaching*, the holiest, most beneficent task of all. Yes, I think *that brief interruption will even be turned to good account*, men will listen more thirstily to one whose voice they have missed awhile. May the supreme Lord Jesus guard and keep you. (emphasis added)

Why was Colet absent from preaching? Three possibilities exist. First, he may have been travelling. However, there is no record of a journey elsewhere and, should he have been on the Continent, Erasmus would have either mentioned his joy in visiting him or berated him for not doing so. Second, he may have been in poor health. In this case, though, we might expect Erasmus to say something about regaining his health and how to maintain it. Third, and most likely, Colet has been suspended from preaching by ecclesiastical authority pending the outcome of some sort of investigation. This explanation makes the most sense in the context of this letter of Erasmus, especially in light of the opening line (‘recovering your quiet’). It is also suggested by the other references we have to Colet having difficulty with FitzJames and at least two other unnamed associates. The timing is right in terms of Erasmus’s biographical letter to Jonas, too, as he suggests FitzJames was attacking Colet in 1513,¹⁷ just before Colet delivered a Good Friday sermon in the presence of Henry VIII.¹⁸ If Erasmus’s chronology is correct, the crunch between Colet and FitzJames came in the spring of 1513, Colet may have been suspended from preaching for a ‘brief’ time awaiting completion of whatever process was set in motion, and the matter was resolved by early autumn.¹⁹ News of its positive resolution was received by Erasmus by the end of October, upon receipt of which he penned this congratulatory letter. What we still do not know with any certainty, though, was the precise nature of the charges against Colet, how they were handled and by whom (although Erasmus and Tyndale both tell us that the

Archbishop's intervention is what saved Colet)²⁰ and the official conclusion of the whole affair.

So did Tyndale get it right? Was Colet indeed charged with heresy for translating the Pater Noster into English? Certainly there is 'room' within the facts as presented thus far for Tyndale's assertion to have been correct. But can we do better than this?

One more issue and one more piece of evidence need to be considered. The issue is this: was it in fact heretical to translate the Pater Noster into English in the opening, pre-reform decades of the sixteenth century in England? The answer to this question is unclear. Gleason says 'no' and that Tyndale's assertion must, consequently, be ignored. In fact, Gleason argues that the church was taking quite the opposite stance, encouraging the teaching of the Lord's Prayer to the people in English.

Other scholars are not so sure. Admittedly, various versions of the Pater Noster in English existed and were circulated, apparently quite openly, during the late middle ages. The exact position of the church on this, however, is subject to some controversy. Florent Aarts makes the point that until the Reformation in England, even though English versions existed, the church clearly taught that 'as a rule the language to be used is Latin'.²² But would violation of this preferred practice have constituted grounds for an accusation of heresy, as in Colet's case? This is the key point of the debate. Might not the issue, though, have been less the existence of such a translation and more who had done it and who was encouraging its use? If that were the case, then perhaps such an act by Colet would have been at least part of his bishop's case against him, a case which may have included additionally the charges listed by Erasmus. We know from church history more generally that bishops and ecclesiastical subordinate.

Until a complete analysis and possible revision is made of the categories regularly used by historians, this titbit from Colet's life must be recognized for what it is, with all its limitations: just one tantalizing insight into one event of one portion of his life. Nevertheless, this one small example was what Tyndale recalled in the heat of battle with More. And, it may be asserted based on the foregoing inquiry, Tyndale probably recalled quite accurately. Tyndale thought he recognized in Colet at least the dim outline of a predecessor. In so doing, Tyndale not only strengthened his confidence in his own vocation but perpetuated the memory of Colet, whose proper role in that turbulent time may still be only imperfectly surmised by historians from a distance of almost five centuries.

Barry T. Ryan

1. David Daniell, *William Tyndale: A Biography*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press (1994), p. 261, fn. 43.
2. Ibid.
3. Professor Daniell has ably captured the spirit of this work: 'This "Dialogue" sets itself out as a Socratic, humanist debate. It does not come over as anything so rational; its intention is slaughter'. Ibid., p. 262. He goes on to describe in summary the basic content and argument of the four books that constitute the Dialogue.
4. And then not again until 1927 when, Professor Daniell points out, it is aptly retitled *A Dialogue Concerning Tyndale*, Ibid., p. 265, fn. 49.
5. William Tyndale, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More*, Cambridge: Parker Society (1850), p. 168.
6. The friendship was not, however, as Frederic Seebohm romanticized in the nineteenth century, that of the so-called 'Oxford Reformers'. At the same time, it is abundantly clear that Colet, More and Erasmus shared much in common and certainly considered each other dear friends. See, e.g. the letter to John Colet from Thomas More, quoted in J.H. Lupton, *A Life of John Colet*, Hamden, CN: The Shoe String Press (1961), pp. 145-46.
7. He was not in a position of sufficient public prominence to warrant attention as a supposed heretic before the appointment. And, even if he had been suspected of heretical thoughts prior thereto, Colet certainly would not have received the honor of the Deanery from Henry VII, with the apparent support of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.
8. J.H. Lupton (ed.) *The Lives of Jehan Vitrier and John Colet*, London: George Bell & Sons (1883).
9. 'However, when the animosity of the old bishop ... was too virulent to be suppressed, he took as his coadjutors two other bishops, as wise and as acrimonious as himself, and began to give Colet trouble ... (H)e laid an information before the Archbishop of Canterbury (i.e. William Warham), specifying certain articles taken from his sermons. One was, that he had taught that images ought not to be worshipped. Another, that he had done away with the hospitality commended by St. Paul (in reference to John 21.15-17, in comment upon Colet supposedly differed from traditional interpretations by claiming that Christ's command to 'feed my sheep' did not include a requirement that the impoverished apostles provide the material needs of their flocks) ... A third article was that, having said in the pulpit that there were some who preached written sermons the stiff and formal way of many in England he had indirectly reflected on his bishop who, from his old age, was in the habit of so doing. The Archbishop, to whom Colet's high qualities were perfectly well known, undertook the protection of the innocent; and, as Colet himself disdained any reply to these and still more frivolous charges, he became a protector instead of a judge', Lupton, *The Lives of Jehan Vitrier and John Colet*, pp. 404-1.
10. Erasmus goes on to mention that FitzJames was determined to pursue Colet's downfall even after being frustrated on the heresy accusation. The remainder of the account ranges beyond our area of concern, however, and concerns Henry VIII's relationship with Colet.
11. John B. Gleason, *John Colet*, Berkeley: University of California Press, pp. 235-257.

12. Ibid., p. 236.
13. Ibid.
14. Of course, if such charges were so weak, would not a trained theologian like Jonas also have realized how unlikely they were, if Gleason is right? Ibid., p. 237.
15. Ibid., p. 237.
16. R.A.B. Mynors and D.F.S. Thomson (trans.), *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press (1975), v. II, pp. 259–260. See P.S. Allen (ed.), *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, Ep. 107.
17. FitzJames was on a bit of a crusade against Lollards throughout this time period. According to Foxe, cited in A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, New York: Schocken Books (1964), p. 28, FitzJames ‘prosecuted at least forty (Lollard) offenders in 1510 and another thirtyseven in 1517’, two of whom in each instance ended up at the stake. Was Colet caught up in the net FitzJames had cast for Lollards? There is also a reference in Foxe, cited frequently, to a certain accused Lollard, as part of the evidence against him, as having caused another person to go to London to hear Dr. Colet’s preaching. See Lupton, *Life*, p. 144, referring to Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (Townsend ed.), vol. IV., p. 230.
18. But see Gleason, p. 256, who believes that the correct date for the Good Friday sermon must have been 1515.
19. P.S. Allen, ‘Dean Colet and Archbishop Warham’, *English Historical Review*, *XVIII* (1902), pp. 303306.
20. And, in a 1552 or 1555 sermon, so does Latimer. The story is either repeated or told independently in Grafton’s *Chronicle* (1569), p. 955.
21. Gleason, p. 237.
22. Florent G.M.A. Aarts, *The Pater Noster of Richard Ermyte: A Late Middle English Exposition of the Lord’s Prayer*, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1967, pp. cvi cvii

ANNOUNCEMENT
 HALF-DAY SATURDAY SEMINAR
TYNDALE: NEW DISCOVERIES

on Saturday 26 April 1997

in Lecture Theatre 3, Windeyer Building, University College London
 Cleveland Street, London WC1E 6BT, 9.30am - 1.0pm

Speakers include:

Dr Eberhard Zwink of Stuttgart on the new 1526 Tyndale New Testament
Jane Carr of the British Library on finding Tyndale in continental archives
Kimberley Van Kampen on book-collectors’ discoveries
items on Tyndale in the Foxe papers, and more

Details from the Tyndale Society Secretary

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Post-War Bible Translations: The Jerusalem Bible and New Jerusalem Bible

Cecil Hargreaves writes: 'One important aspect of the new richness found in the world of biblical translation in the twentieth century has been the freshness brought in by the new age of Roman Catholic biblical study and biblical translation, especially since the Papal Encyclical of 1943 gave permission for the unrestricted use of ancient manuscripts and other material in study and translation. Matching the distinctive freshness and excitement of twentieth-century translators in churches that have largely used the AV for the previous three centuries has been the freshness and excitement of those twentieth-century translators whose church had previously used only the Latin Vulgate or the Douai-Rheims English Bible.'ⁱ

The Jerusalem Bible grew out of the work initiated by the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem, who from 1946 had been engaged in producing a new annotated French version of the Bible. This first appeared as a collection of commentaries on the individual books of the Bible, with introduction and notes, for the use of students. The Bible was completed in 1956. In the first place the English translation was to have been of the notes only, but it soon became apparent that the notes could not simply be attached to an existing English Roman Catholic version. A completely new translation was therefore deemed necessary. This work took ten years, under the general editorship of Alexander Jones, and was finally published by Darton, Longman and Todd, in 1966. Sir Anthony Kenny, Alexander Jones's nephew, was among the twenty-seven strong team of translators. He writes about his involvement, in his autobiography.ⁱⁱ He says that several of the original team for one reason or another defaulted, and Alexander Jones in the end personally translated a large number of books: 'his editorial activity was so extensive that he became in effect co-author of the translation.'ⁱⁱⁱ

The intention of the Jerusalem Bible was to keep abreast of theological thinking taking into account modern scholarship and archaeological and textual discoveries. The annotations and historical background, variant readings and linguistic considerations make it a very considerable work of scholarship, arguably more extensive than any other modern translation.

The revision of the Jerusalem Bible was undertaken and I refer readers to Henry Wansbrough's account of his work as editor (p. 40). The New Jerusalem Bible was published in 1985.

In previous articles I have quoted Jonah's prayer (in versions from Tyn-
dale, AV, NEB/REB, Knox, RSV/NRSV). The Jerusalem Bible reads thus:

- 3 'Out of my distress I cried to Yahweh
and he answered me;
from the belly of Sheol I cried,
and you have heard my voice.
- 4 You cast me into the abyss, into the heart of the sea,
and the flood surrounded me.
All your waves, your billows,
washed over me.
- 5 And I said: I am cast out
from your sight.
How shall I ever look again
on your holy Temple?
- 6 The waters surrounded me right to my throat,
the abyss was all around me.
The seaweed was wrapped round my head
- 7 at the roots of the mountains.
I went down into the countries underneath the earth,
to the peoples of the past.
But you lifted my life from the pit,
Yahweh, my God.
- 8 While my soul was fainting within me,
I remembered Yahweh,
and my prayer came before you
into your holy Temple.
- 9 Those who serve worthless idols
forfeit the grace that was theirs.
- 10 'But I, with a song of praise,
will sacrifice to you.
The vow I have made, I will fulfil.
Salvation comes from Yahweh.'
- 11 Yahweh spoke to the fish, which then vomited Jonah on to the shore.

The NJB has made considerable changes:

- 3 Out of my distress I cried to Yahweh
and he answered me,
from the belly of Sheol I cried out:
you heard my voice!
- 4 For you threw me into the deep,
into the heart of the seas,
and the floods closed round me.
All your waves and billows
passed over me;

- 5 then I thought, 'I am banished
from your sight;
how shall I ever see your holy Temple again?'
- 6 The waters round me rose to my neck,
the deep was closing round me,
seaweed twining round my head.
- 7 To the roots of the mountains,
I sank into the underworld,
and its bars closed round me for ever.
But you raised my life from the Pit,
Yahweh my God!
- 8 When my soul was growing ever weaker,
Yahweh, I remembered you,
and my prayer reached you
in your holy Temple.
- 9 Some abandon their faithful love
by worshipping false gods,
- 10 but I shall sacrifice to you
with songs of praise.
The vow I have made I shall fulfil!
Salvation comes from Yahweh!

11 Yahweh spoke to the fish, which then vomited Jonah onto the dry land.

Readers will notice that there are points of varying interpretation here, particularly in verses 6 and 7, and whilst the JB is perhaps more dignified, the NJB has an increased sense of urgency and immediacy.

Apropos of the use of the term Yahweh, Anthony Kenny tells us that Alexander Jones had fronted much opposition to its use, but had insisted that the Hebrew YHWH was a name and that it must therefore be transliterated into English as such and not be translated into, for instance, Jehovah. His defence in the forward says: 'It is in the Psalms especially that the use of the divine name *Yahweh* (accented on the second syllable) may seem unacceptable—though indeed the still stranger form "Yah" is in constant use in the acclamation Hallelu-Yah (Praise Yah!). It is not without hesitation that this accurate form has been used and no doubt those who may care to use this translation of the Psalms can substitute the traditional "the Lord". On the other hand, this would be to lose much of the flavour and meaning of the originals. For example, to say "The Lord is God" is surely a tautology, as to say "Yahweh is God" is not'.^{iv}

JB uses Yahweh where previous Bibles had used 'the Lord'. The two creation stories in consequence read very much as distinct narratives. The opening of Genesis in JB is as follows:

In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. Now the earth was a formless void, there was darkness over the deep, and God's spirit hovered over the water.

God said, 'Let there be light', and there was light. God saw that light was good, and God divided light from darkness. God called light 'day', and darkness he called 'night'. Evening came and morning came: the first day.

God said, 'Let there be a vault in the waters to divide the waters in two'. And so it was. God made the vault, and it divided the waters above the vault from the waters under the vault. God called the vault 'heaven'. Evening came and morning came: the second day.

(Verse 2 in NJB reads: Now the earth was a formless void, there was darkness over the deep, with a divine wind sweeping over the waters).

Chapter 2 verse 5ff. of Genesis in JB is subtitled **'The second account of the creation. Paradise'**:

At the time when Yahweh God made earth and heaven there was as yet no wild bush on the earth nor had any wild plant yet sprung up, for Yahweh God had not sent rain on the earth, nor was there any man to till the soil. However, a flood was rising from the earth and watering all the surface of the soil. Yahweh God fashioned man of dust from the soil. Then he breathed into his nostrils a breath of life, and thus man became a living being.

NJB has changed the subtitle to **'Paradise, and the test of free will'** and whilst the first sentence remains the same, verse 6 now reads:

Instead, water flowed out of the ground and watered all the surface of the soil.

Yahweh God shaped man from the soil of the ground and blew the breath of life into his nostrils, and man became a living being.

The fact that JB specifically draws a distinction between the two creation stories reflects the theological stance of the Roman Catholic Church since the Second Vatican Council of 1943. The introduction and notes state that the Pentateuch is made up of J, E, D, and P sources modified by oral tradition. In general the notes reflect strict attention to the latest theological, historical and archaeological developments. Doctrinal points of difference between Catholic and Protestant are reflected more in the New Testament notes, for instance to the role of Peter in the Church, and to the Sacraments.

Both JB and NJB distinguish in the layout between poetry and prose; hence the opening 18 verses of the Gospel of John (subtitled **Prologue**) are written as poetry:

JB: In the beginning was the Word:
the Word was with God
and the Word was God.
He was with God in the beginning.
Through him all things came to be,
not one thing had its being but through him

All that came to be had life in him
and that life was the light of men,
a light that shines in the dark,
a light that darkness could not overpower.

Although the layout is similar, NJB has lost the cadences of the above:

NJB: In the beginning was the Word:
the Word was with God
and the Word was God.
He was with God in the beginning.
Through him all things came into being,
not one thing came into being
except through him.
What has come into being in him was life,
life that was the light of men;
and light shines in darkness,
and darkness could not overpower it.

(Note that both versions prefer 'overpower' to Knox's 'master').

Whilst it is always possible to trawl through the different translations and select passages which are noteworthy for their beauty or clumsiness, for this series of articles it seems preferable to quote passages already cited in previous versions in order to make a comparison. Here is the complex opening to Hebrews in JB and NJB. For clarity and dignity, JB outshines all the others:

JB: At various times in the past and in various different ways, God spoke to our ancestors through the prophets; but in our own time, the last days, he has spoken to us through his Son, the Son that he has appointed to inherit everything and through whom he made everything there is. He is the radiant light of God's glory and the perfect copy of his nature, sustaining the universe by his powerful command; and now that he has destroyed the defilement of sin, he has gone to take his place in heaven at the right hand of divine Majesty. So he is now as far above the angels as the title which he has inherited is higher than their own name.

NJB: At many moments in the past and by many means, God spoke to our ancestors through the prophets; but in our time, the final days, he has spoken to us in the person of his Son, whom he appointed heir of all things and through whom he made the ages. He is the reflection of God's glory and bears the impress of God's own being, sustaining all things by his powerful command; and now that he has purged sins away, he has taken his seat at the right hand of the divine Majesty on high. So he is now as far above the angels as the title which he has inherited is higher than their own name.

There are infelicities of language in JB and NJB as in all translations (Mark 13.19 in JB is a clumsy mouthful: 'For in those days there will be such distress as, until now, has not been equalled since the beginning when God created the world, nor ever will be again', improved in NJB to 'For in

those days there will be great distress unparalleled since God created the world, and such as will never be again.' Tyndale reads: 'For there shall be in those days such tribulation, as was not from the beginning of creatures which God created, unto this time, neither shall be').

The difficult passage in Romans 8.18ff is served particularly well in JB:

I think that what we suffer in this life can never be compared to the glory, as yet unrevealed, which is waiting for us. The whole creation is eagerly waiting for God to reveal his sons. It was not for any fault on the part of creation that it was made unable to attain its purpose, it was made so by God; but creation still retains the hope of being freed, like us, from its slavery to decadence, to enjoy the same freedom and glory as the children of God.

In an increasingly ecumenical age, the JB and NJB have made great progress in bridging the gap between Protestant and Catholic, and exemplify once again how the proliferation of Bible translations must be applauded rather than bemoaned. I end, as I started, with Cecil Hargreaves' words: 'During the Elizabethan and Stuart periods, the importance of using a variety of translations of the Bible was stressed. Dr. Myles Coverdale, the translator and former Augustinian monk who became the first Protestant bishop of Exeter during the Reformation, subscribed to this view. He said, provocatively, that the use of various translations was of more value than all the commentaries: 'there cometh more understanding of the Scriptures by sundry translations than by all the glosses of sophistical doctors'. And the introduction to the AV of 1611 explicitly quotes St Augustine of Hippo as having declared that 'variety of translations is profitable for the finding out of the sense of the Scriptures'. That echoes the discussions about freedom and variety of biblical translation in early Christian centuries. Augustine is known to have had an interest in, and concern for, biblical translation; although as a bishop he is on record as saying that some of Jerome's new translations (Vulgate version) upset his congregations. He is also on record as praising the LXX for its inspired rendering of many passages and for 'its freedom of the Spirit' in translation, and its avoidance of 'mere human servitude to words'. In every age voices have been raised to point to the richness that comes from a variety of versions.'

Hilary Day

- i Cecil Hargreaves, *A Translator's Freedom: Modern English Bibles and Their Language*, (Sheffield University Press, 1993), p.74
- ii Anthony Kenny, *A Path From Rome*, (Sidgwick and Jackson, 1985)
- iii op. cit. p.117
- iv quoted in *A Path From Rome*, p.122
- v *A Translator's Freedom*, p. 73

Editing the New Jerusalem Bible

Some time during early summer of 1978 Bill Saumarez-Smith, who was at that time publishing editor of DLT charged with the project, sent me the version of the Letter to the Hebrews revised by Tim Darton, asking me to look over it as consultant. The project was to revise the JB, taking account of the improvement to the *Bible de Jérusalem* incorporated into the 1972 edition of the French. I asked for a copy of this edition, and to my surprise received the reply that DLT had no copy of it. After some time they procured a copy and sent it to me. I was unable to discern the principles of the revision, which did not seem to me to take much (if any) account of the new French edition. Nor did the changes made to the JB text all seem to me to be improvements. Some were quite the reverse. I wrote back in this sense and heard no more.

During July 1978 I happened to be staying at the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem, and mentioned the matter to Pierre Benoit, who, as Director of the Ecole, was in charge of the whole *Bible de Jérusalem* project. He told me that he had asked DLT to put either myself or one other named English past pupil of the Ecole in charge of the project. He gave me a letter to John Todd, whom I was due to meet on my return to England over another project, reiterating these instructions. The arrangements which John suggested did not seem to me adequate for me to fulfil what Benoit expected,



Jonah outside of Nineveh, Hans Holbein, 1497–1543

and I wrote back to him to this effect. Benoit then sent to DLT the letter which we subsequently nicknamed 'the bombshell', to the effect that unless I was put freely in charge of the project, he would not allow the name of the Jerusalem Bible to be used.

This letter had its desired effect, and I was given a free hand. By this time a good deal of the Old Testament had received a preliminary re-translation by Alan Neame, who had worked on the 1966 edition. I constantly admired his skill as a translator, but was never able to discover just how much Greek and Hebrew he commanded. I worked through the whole translation, making a minimum of a thousand or two changes to every book. Some books (e.g. the Psalms) I translated afresh from the Hebrew and Greek. Other books needed considerable revision, as they had been translated for the 1966 edition almost entirely from the French. Robert Speight once told me (a score of years after the event, so perhaps not entirely accurately) that he had translated the whole of Isaiah in a fortnight, and he certainly knew no Hebrew. As you know, the principle of the BJ was to give preference to the Hebrew version where possible, and to follow the Greek only when the Hebrew was entirely unsatisfactory.

For the New Testament I was more independently responsible, though some portions had already been freshly translated (e.g. Romans, whose translator wished to remain anonymous). For most books I made the changes from the JB myself, sometimes (e.g. the Letters of John) translating entirely afresh, and for others merely making widespread changes. By the time we reached the New Testament, Bill Saumarez-Smith had retired, and the publisher's editor was Cecil Hargreaves, who was responsible for a number of very clever ideas. The only other member of the team was the publisher's sub-editor, Bob Jolowicz.

The guidelines for me were, when in doubt, to accept the interpretation given in the French edition. The introductions and notes needed considerable adjustment to account for the advances in scholarship since the French edition. For any change over the French I was obliged (till 1982, when the restriction was removed) to seek the approval of Benoit. Each month I would send him a list of proposed changes. About these he was usually helpful and generous. Only one list was unsuccessful, when I consulted him about whether to use the metric or the imperial system of weights, measures, etc. In that letter I was incautious enough to remind Benoit light-heartedly that it is a well-known phenomenon in archaeology that the victors adopt the culture of the vanquished, and it might therefore be reasonable for the English edition to adopt the Napoleonic system. One does

not joke about Waterloo to a Frenchman, and the answers to that list were uniformly negative. There were occasionally other difficulties: for one detail I was obliged to ask Raymond Brown in the United States and Francis Moloney in Australia for supporting letters, confirming that the French version would be simply unacceptable in the English-speaking world. From 1982, when my dear friend Benoit was no longer so young, the Council of the Ecole Biblique instructed him to give me a free hand.

I suppose there were five main principles to my work:

1. To improve the accuracy of translation, introductions and notes. I was acutely aware that the rationale of the NJB was somewhat different from that of the JB. Alexander Jones had conceived the translation primarily as a underlay to the introduction and notes, that is, as a study Bible. But whereas in 1966 there was no modern translation of the whole Bible into English, by 1985 several were available. The study aspect had therefore become all the more important.
2. To remove elements which were narrowly Roman Catholic, such as references in the notes to passages used in the Roman Catholic liturgy.
3. Where possible to use the same English word throughout for the same Hebrew concepts. With some concepts I abandoned the attempt to find a modern English equivalent which would serve to translate all instances of a word, e.g. 'flesh'.
4. In the synoptic gospels and other parallel sets of texts (e.g. the Books of Kings and of Chronicles) to show the differences between the text, in order to make possible a study of the redactional changes made by the authors.
5. Where possible to go some way towards using inclusive language. I did not estimate that this was necessary at all costs, as the NRSV subsequently did. However, Bruce Metzger was kind enough to write to me to say that NJB solutions had been most helpful to the Committee for the NRSV in the closing stages of their work.

The reason why the edition took so long was that during the whole period I was occupied also by a full teaching commitment in school and monastery at Ampleforth. I subsequently reckoned that over the seven years I managed an average of about four hours a day at the NJB, more during school holidays and less during school term.

Dom Henry Wansbrough

Dom Henry Wansbrough is Master of St. Benet's Hall, Oxford and is a member of the Pontifical Biblical Commission, a body of 20 scholars appointed to advise the Pope on biblical matters.

The Third Annual Lambeth Tyndale Lecture, October '96 – an appreciation

'You are going all the way to England just to attend a lecture given by Professor Thiede on Tyndale?' 'Well, yes', I replied and added rather apologetically 'He is an extremely good lecturer and he is speaking on Tyndale and the European Reformation'. However, it was obvious from the shoulder shrugging and eye movements – gestures on which Prof Desmond Morris could have based a minor thesis – that nobody flies in for a single lecture, even at Lambeth Palace, and that clearly this Tyndale Society must be encouraging fanatics!

Determined not to be late for the great event I arrived uncharacteristically far too early at the forbidding doors of Lambeth Palace. The taxi driver, anticipating my predicament, obligingly whooshed me back over the bridge to Church House bookshop – free of charge because having started an interesting discussion on the Reformation on the way from Paddington he felt it would provide an excellent opportunity to conclude it with a few more remarks on Luther et al.

A fortune on books later, I arrived at the aforesaid, now open, doors to overhear Priscilla Frost, the Tyndale Society's ever efficient secretary, persuading a nun who had travelled up from Wantage for the day that she really could not leave now to catch the last bus home – Wantage, it seems, is barely linked with the capital of the country. It was probably easier to get there in Tyndale's time. She, Priscilla, would guarantee her a lift back, if necessary, to ensure that she did not miss the lecture or incur Reverend Mother's displeasure.

The audience began to fill the impressive Great Hall of the Library at Lambeth Palace. For quite a few of us it was a reunion as we had been at the 2nd Oxford International Tyndale Conference and the sequel so ably organized in Leuven, Belgium, by Dr Guido Latré in September 1996. The welcoming remarks made, the assembly sat enthralled as Prof Carsten Peter Thiede launched into a fascinating, tightly argued lecture on *Tyndale and the European Reformation*.

'*I pray thee, stay with us; go not to Wittenberg*' pleaded the Queen of Denmark in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Prof Thiede began his lecture with this quotation. This mention of the town where Luther studied, wrote and held the chair of Theology, to which Barnes fled in 1531 and where Tyndale was

able to expand his knowledge of classical languages was an apt introduction. Thiede made the point, with numerous examples, that we must always be ready to put the European Reformation in its literary and philological context. He gave us a detailed reasoning as to why Tyndale's plea to Bishop Tunstall to give him employment was based on a translation of Isocrates. Thiede is sure that this choice was no mere whim on Tyndale's part but conformed to the prevailing intellectual trends in Europe.

Prof Thiede dwelt at some length on the quality and accuracy of Tyndale's translation which he acknowledged as being extremely good. He also emphasized that Tyndale released the Bible from its 'Latin straight-jacket'. He suggested, perhaps with an eye on his mainly British audience, that Europeans were the poorer for not being able to understand English and, thus, unable to follow Tyndale's scholarship and arguments.

He made an interesting point, which has long been dear to my own heart, that the influence of Tyndale on the Geneva Bible is very marked and urged further study in this area. He concluded his lecture by saying that Tyndale was an excellent all-rounder in comparison with Luther who was not as scholarly and Calvin who was too political.

The audience seemed delighted with this polished lecture delivered in faultless English which will be printed in the next volume of the Society's academic journal *Reformation* due shortly. Immediately afterwards there was a lively reception and then a goodly proportion of those present wandered down the road to partake of a light supper in the company of the lecturer and our tireless, ebullient chairman, Prof. David Daniell. Socialising continued over the meal, whose quality regretfully did not match the level of the discussions. The Tyndale Society is a truly interdisciplinary one. Where else would you find a cleric, an artist, a farmer, a retired judge and a computer specialist earnestly exchanging views on the Reformation over the soup? No doubt my erstwhile taxi driver would have joined in if I had thought in time to invite him!

Was the lecture worth the flight? Well, Carsten thought it worthwhile enough to fly in to give it, and I flew in to hear it. After all, it is merely the more comfortable continuation of a Reformation tradition – Hamlet, Barnes and Tyndale to Wittenberg, Thiede to London. The difference is that we, twentieth century citizens, travelled to London by car, plane and train whereas Tyndale was obliged to use sailing boat and horse in his quest for refuge and intellectual stimulation. Yes, it was an excellent lecture and, as I remarked at the time, Carsten is so enthusiastic and utterly convincing that it is hard to disagree with him on virtually any subject he cares to expound

upon. One could, in the spirit of Shakespeare's King of Denmark, say '*... your intent in going back to school in Paderborn, it is the most retrograde to our desire*'.

*Valerie Offord, Hon. Archivist,
Holy Trinity Church, Geneva*

Extracts from Erotica

or the Banquet of Love being the Palatine Anthology of King Solomon

Versions by Gordon Jackson

For Solomon I will sing
the song of all lovesongs:
Let him place on my lips a kiss
as will put all wine to shame,
As will make the richest tastes and fragrances
seem plain.
Your very name inebriates, and all the girls
are madly in love with you.
Take me wherever you will
only do it quickly,
Into your royal bedroom,
There let us share each other,
Our kisses will put all wine to shame.
No wonder the girls are mad about you.

I went down to the walnut grove
to see the valley in bloom,
The vines in bud,
the pomegranate blossom.
And what came over me?
Love came over me.
And I came home like a prince,
like a prince with a pride of chariots!

Dancer of Shulem, don't go away,
We want an encore,
we want to see more of you.

What is the dance you would have
of the dancer of Shulem?
The dance you danced between two armies,
the dance that put paid to the fighting.

Set me as a seal on your heart,
as a ring on your finger,
For love is as unreasoning as death,
and like the grave
will not take no for an answer,
It can burn in secret,
it can blaze to the skies,
But all the rivers of earth won't quench it,
all the seas of the world won't put it out.
If a man were to offer all that he had for love,
lock, stock and barrel,
Love would laugh at him.

Letters to the Editor

29 November 1996

Spreading the Word

In an attempt to enrol new members and to organise a local 'chapter' of the Tyndale Society in his home country I have had the following experience.

Armed by Priscilla with the addresses of members in the N. Wilts, W. Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire area (about 20), plus the addresses of all the theological colleges and deaneries in the Gloucester diocese, I started to write, duplicate and post material, including the printed brochure.

The initial response has proved slow. Three weeks after all this activity only three members have replied.

Almost at the same time, press releases were also posted off to five local newspaper editors, and things began to liven up. Several 'phone calls from Debbie Stephens of the Gloucestershire Echo, and a visit from a nice young photographer, resulted in a half page article and an indifferent portrait of 'yours truly' in that local daily. This was followed by my open letter being printed in the Stroud News and Journal, and shortly after this, in the Gloucester Citizen, where the reporter made a well constructed article, extending my copy with a note from the Revd. Canon Neil Heavisides, the precentor of Gloucester Cathedral. Canon Heavisides had agreed several

weeks before to conduct a special evensong on the 6th October 1997 (the William Tyndale 502nd anniversary), in the Cathedral.

On the day the Citizen article appeared (29th Nov.) I was also interviewed 'live' by Radio Gloucester's Steve Knibbs!

I am now sitting back waiting for results!

I do encourage members of the society in other parts of the U.K. to 'go public' too. We must not let a potential flood of new 'Tyndalians' from the U.S.A. shame us back here in Tyndale's home country!

David Green,

22 Foss Field,

Winstone,

Gloucestershire GL7 7JY

Tel: 01285 821651

Readers of *The Tyndale Society Journal* may be interested to learn that the current issue of *Reformed Theological Journal* (vol. 12, November 1996) contains the following two articles:

- C Knox Hyndman, 'William Tyndale and the English Bible', pp. 17–24
- Frederick S Leahy, 'Erasmus, Luther and Reformation', pp. 81–88.

I should add that the article on Tyndale is quite popular and should not teach members of The Tyndale Society anything new, but it is a neat summary.

The Journal is obtainable from *Reformed Theological Journal*, 98 Lisburn Road, Belfast, Northern Ireland BT9 6AG, for £4.65 inclusive of postage.

Yours sincerely,

V Perry

Hertford Tyndale Lecture

One of the principal aims of the Society is to rescue William Tyndale from centuries of neglect. No one could accuse Thomas More, however, of neglecting William Tyndale. Indeed, Tyndale exercised More to the extent of over half a million words in print. Yet, while More's attacks on Tyndale are now judged to be misrepresentation on a tabloid scale, it is important for paid-up Tyndalians to be reminded of (or, even, introduced to?) the context of More's theological standpoint. *William Tyndale and Thomas More* was the title of the lecture given by Sir Anthony Kenny, as the third annual Hertford Tyndale Lecture, on Friday 25th October 1996, in the Examination

Schools in Oxford, and introduced by Sir Walter Bodmer, Principal of Hertford College.

Sir Anthony presented a wide ranging review of the doctrinal controversies surrounding the publications of Martin Luther and Thomas More. A close study then followed of several of the works of dispute that raged between More and Tyndale, including More's *Dialogue Concerning Heresies* (1529); Tyndale's *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* (1531); and More's *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer* (1532). Sir Anthony charted the style and skill of More's invective, as well as discussing the more common charges of turgid verbosity, relentless digression and telling lies (Repetition, Deviation but, alas, no Hesitation). It also became clear from Sir Anthony's review of the texts that, on occasion, Tyndale and More were well matched in malice when doctrinal debate sank to sacriligious squabbling. Work has begun (including the efforts of the Society) to encourage the study of Tyndale's translations, and Sir Anthony's lecture demonstrated that any understanding of Tyndale's non-translation works will require a careful approach to More's theological position.

The difficulties of balancing the subtleties of religious politics with those of language were further illustrated for us through Sir Anthony's own experience of translating sections of the New Jerusalem Bible from the French into English. Sir Anthony also explained some of the problems inherent in having many translators contributing to a single work. Sir Anthony's comparisons of quotations from different bible translations, including the New Jerusalem Bible, provided detailed examples of several of the theological and linguistic issues he had raised. We were also reminded of the need to be constantly alert to the complex choices that inevitably lie behind all bible translation, whether from the sixteenth or the twentieth centuries.

Sir Anthony Kenny's presence as speaker in Oxford was especially welcome, as it marked another measure of continuity for the Tyndale Society. It was during a Reception in January 1995 that Sir Anthony, then as Chairman of the British Library Board, announced the formal inauguration of the Society which was to build on the developments of the Quincentenary Trust. That event took place to the backdrop of *Let There Be Light*, the Tyndale exhibition which is now on tour in the United States.

The Hertford Lecture in Oxford was followed by drinks in the Old Hall at Hertford College, and dinner presided over by Sir Walter Bodmer. Once again, the Society extends our grateful thanks for the continued support and generous hospitality of Hertford College.

Rochelle Givoni

Notes & Queries

Comparative readings of key words compiled by Sir Anthony Kenny for the Hertford Lecture in Oxford in October 1996.

Part 1. T = Tyndale AV = King James Version

Matthew 16,18

Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my congregation (T)

Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church (AV)

Luke 1, 28

The angel went in unto her and said, Hail full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women (T)

The angel came in unto her and said, Hail thou that are highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women (AV)

James 5, 14

If any be diseased among you, let him call for the elders of the congregation (T)

Is any sick among you? Let him call for the elders of the church (AV)

James 5, 16

Knowledge your faults one to another (T)

Confess your faults one to another (AV)

1 Corinthians 13, 8

Though that prophesying fail, or tongues shall cease, or knowledge vanish away, yet love falleth never away (T)

Charity never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away (AV)

1 Corinthians 5, 11

I write unto you, that ye company not together, if any that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or a worshipper of images (T)

I have written unto you not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater (AV)

Part 2. NRSV = New Revised Standard Vers. NJB = New Jerusalem Bible

Matthew 16, 18

You are Peter, and on this rock I will build my *church* (NRSV)

You are Peter, and on t his rock I will build my *community* (NJB)

Luke 1, 28

And he said to her: Greetings, *favoured* one! The Lord is with you (NRSV)

He went in and said to her: Rejoice, you who enjoy God's *favour*! The Lord is with you (NJB)

James 5, 14

Are any among you sick? They should call for the *elders* of the Church (NRSV)
Any one of you who is ill should send for the *elders* of the Church (NJB)

James 5, 16

Confess your sins to one another (NRSV)
Confess your sins to one another (NJB)

1 Corinthians 13, 8

Love never ends; but as for prophecies, they will come to an end; as for tongues, they will cease, as for knowledge it will come to an end (NRSV)

Love never comes to an end. But if there are prophecies, they will be done away with; if tongues, they will fall silent; and if knowledge, it will be done away with (NJB)

1 Corinthians, 5

I am writing to you not to associate with anyone who bears the name of *brother* or *sister* who is sexually immoral or greedy or is an *idolater* (NRSV)

What I meant was that you were not to have anything to do with anyone going by the name of *brother* who is sexually immoral, or is greedy, or worships *false gods* (NJB)

TYNDALE SOCIETY CONFERENCE

St Deiniol's Library, 1-5 September 1997

St. Deiniol's Library is a residential library in Wales, 7 miles west of Chester. The week is an opportunity for Tyndale Society members to meet and to use the Library. Accommodation is in comfortable Study Bedrooms. The cost (fullboard, and use of the Library and facilities) subsidised from the Library Endowments is probably going to be £195 single room, £165 double room. Day rate £108, (which includes morning coffee, lunch, tea in afternoon, and dinner; also external reader pass which is valid for a year).

The Library contains over 200,000 printed items, and the Reformation period is well represented. The areas covered by the Library are Victorian Studies / History / Theology / Philosophy / Literature / Social Studies and Education / Classics. The week's plan is for papers in the morning, and the afternoon free to use the Library or to explore Chester and North Wales. After Dinner the Library is open to residents until 10 p.m., or we will have papers on a lighter vein. Places are limited, and we have reserved 25.

*The Revd. Ralph S. Werrell, 2a Queens Road, Kenilworth,
Tel: 01926 858677 Warwickshire CV8 1JQ*

St Deiniol's Library, 1-5 September 1997

CALL FOR PAPERS

Papers are invited for our week at St Deiniol's Library.

There are six Sessions with either two half-hour papers, or one one-hour paper in each. Also papers are called for which have a lighter theme for after-Dinner delivery.

Outlines of the papers should be sent to:

*The Revd. Ralph S. Werrell, 2aQueens Road, Kenilworth,
Warwickshire CV8 1JQ*

JESUS AND THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES

The quotations Jesus made from the Old Testament are always very enlightening and instructive. Comparing Isaiah 61:1-2 with the occasion when the Lord was in the synagogue at Nazareth as recorded in Luke 4:16-21 is one such case in point. He was presented with the scroll of Isaiah, and He began to read the passage. After reading 'to preach the acceptable year year of the Lord', we are told He closed the book and sat down, and the eyes of all that were in the synagogue were fastened upon him. He then said, 'This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears'.

We notice He did not complete the passage, for the acceptable year of the Lord is connected with His first advent, whereas the 'day of vengeance of our God' belongs to the second advent and judgment.

In John 5: 46 we read 'Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me. But now ye believe not his writing: how shall ye believe my words?' Again in Luke 24:27 'He began at Moses, and at all the prophets, and interpreted unto them in all the scriptures, which were written of him'. Later in verse 44, Jesus said to his disciples 'all must be fulfilled which were written of me in the law of Moses, and in the Prophets and in the Psalms'.

In Matthew 23:35 when Jesus refers to the martyrs of the Old Testament, He said 'that upon you may come all the righteous blood that was shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel, unto the blood of Zacharias the son of Barachias, whom ye slew between the temple and the altar'. We might expect that Jesus was quoting from Genesis and Malachi, or one of the other Minor Prophets, but not so. The last book of the Writings or the Psalms is 2 Chronicles, this naturally being the last book of the Hebrew Scriptures.

As far as possible I have used Tyndale's translation.

Reg Whittern

The Tyndale Exhibition in California

'Let There Be Light', the British Library's Tyndale exhibition, ran for just over four months at the end of 1994 and early in 1995. It had more than 42,000 visitors. That display of Tyndale's printed books and background material became an important part of the national, and international, Quincentenary celebrations. As curator, I was always moved to see people pause in front of the letter Tyndale wrote from prison, his 1526 New Testament, and one especially of the ten cases, full of the little books he wrote and translated, including New Testaments and Pentateuchs, for Anne Boleyn and for the ploughboy's pocket.

In November 1996 the exhibition began a tour of the United States of America. It opened in southern California, at the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, an attractive suburb of greater Los Angeles. Scholars the world over know the Huntington as one of the greatest centres of learning in the world – and it is certainly the most pleasant to use. Henry E. Huntington was a railroad king: he founded in 1919 this astonishing library, a remarkable art collection, and 230 acres of special gardens.

'Let There Be Light' was the first visiting exhibition the Huntington had ever received. Late in 1996, in the warm mid-November sunshine, with wide beds of golden and mauve chrysanthemums lighting up the stonework, the Tyndale books, labels and panels arrived. Ann de Lara from the British Library was there to check, and then seal, the glass cases: she had brought with her the million-pound 1526 New Testament (which, courtesy of British Airways, flew Club Class with her as Mr A. Book). Alan Jutzi, Curator of Rare Books at the Huntington, had been able to include some of their own precious holdings. His enthusiasm, hard work and friendliness made the whole experience very special, not only for me.

In the events of the week of the launch, everyone appreciated the presence and keen interest of David Zeidberg, Director of the Library. Catherine Babcock, the indefatigable Communications Director, organised television coverage, some of it extensive, by Fox News At Ten, CNN, CBS and KCET *'Life and Times'*, and live radio interviews. Many newspapers carried stories, including the LA Times and Wall Street Journal. Dorothy, my wife, was able to join me for the middle week: we met many keen and fascinating people. I lectured every day to groups of all sizes, and opened the exhibition with a formal lecture to two hundred acutely interested Californians, an occasion attended also by John Ashworth, the new Chairman of the British Library Board, and Jane Carr, BL Director of Public Services. Included as guests

at a formal lunch given by the President of the Huntington, Robert Skotheim, were the British Consul-General and his wife, Merrick and Chrystal Baker-Bates: he is an Oxford man from Hertford College and knew all about Tyndale.

Attracted by banners outside, the Huntington visitor to the exhibition saw first the Hertford portrait (a fine copy) and (Alan Jutzi's excellent idea) on a wall behind it a finely made time-line placing Tyndale's life with kings and queens, Erasmus and Luther, and so on. In the spacious room behind, in excellent lighting, the visitor could move easily from case to case – accompanied, if needed, by one of a hundred Docents willing to explain. (Docents are specially trained volunteers: I found them the most stimulating and demanding audience.)

During the week, I lectured on Tyndale to senior academics at UCLA, before going on alone to Utah and Rick Duerden and then San Diego and Barry Ryan. Everywhere the interest in Tyndale, and the Society, was acute – and often very surprised, with people asking why they had not been told about him before.

The exhibition closed on 8 February, to go on to New York Public Library. In under three months, it welcomed over 30,000 visitors. 5,000 came in the last week, and sometimes had to queue for an hour and a half.

The Huntington, under the direction of Robert C. Richie, Director of Research, arranged a one-day symposium on Tyndale on Saturday 11 January. This was addressed by David Scott Kastan of Columbia University, New York; Sister Anne O'Donnell of the Catholic University of America, Washington DC; Arthur Slavin of the University of Louisville, and me. These Huntington events have variable attendances: the Tyndale Symposium attracted 173, the second highest attendance ever, and a most gratifying assembly of people to speak to, including some who came specially from distant States.

So many Huntington staff were involved, and gave superlative – and always gracious – attention. They, and I, continue to receive letters and phone calls saying how visitors to the exhibition found themselves deeply moved.

I was able also on that January visit to go again to Utah and lecture to extremely appreciative audiences at Brigham Young University, and to talk to a well-attended Forum on the Sunday morning at the Church of Our Saviour in L.A. I also made a forty-minute tape on Tyndale for an organisation which sends these tapes to every college and university in the States.

The presence of Tyndale, and the Society, is strengthening in America. I shall report in the next issue on the next parts of the tour.

David Daniell

Business Manager

The Tyndale Society is looking for a part-time Business Manager, for some hours a week, mainly for the annual journal *Reformation*. The work will involve financial management, developing subscriptions, including those from College and University libraries world-wide, arranging advertising within the journal, maintaining its presence at suitable conferences world-wide, and superintending citations. It is hoped that some remuneration can be arranged.

Anyone interested should write in the first instance to the Chairman of the Tyndale Society, Professor David Daniell, at his home address, 17 Crossfell Road, Hemel Hempstead, Herts, HP3 8RF; fax 01442-239329.

3-day UK Residential Conference on 'The Reformation Bible'.

The Van Kampen Foundation, Grand Haven, Michigan, USA, is hosting its third annual conference on early Bibles at its UK base, Hampton Court, Herefordshire, 28–31 May 1997. The subject is 'The Reformation Bible'. The Convenor is the Tyndale Society Chairman, David Daniell: it is hoped that speakers will include David Bagchi (Hull), David Daniell (London), Richard Duerden (Utah), Susan Felch (Michigan), Guido Latré (Leuven), Andrew Hadfield (Aberystwyth), Andrew Hope (Oxford), Kimberly Van Kampen (Michigan), Gerhard May (Mainz), David Norton (Wellington, NZ), Barry Ryan (San Diego), Tatiana String (Bristol), David Wright (Glasgow) and others.

The setting, in Hampton Court Castle, is spectacular; the arrangements are most comfortable, and the occasion is outstanding. Cost: £145 for conference and meals. Further details from The Scriptorium, 926 Robbins Road, Suite 183, Grand Haven, Michigan, 49417 USA. Tel: 00 1 616 847 7220, fax: 00 1 616 847 7230.

European Membership Secretary

We are delighted that Mrs Valerie Offord of Maison Forte, 28 Place Brunes, Bardonnex, 1257 Croix de Rozon, Switzerland, has agreed to be our European Membership Secretary. Further details will follow. Please write to her also if you have suggestions for events in Europe.

18–20 April

Study weekend in Oxford: *Archaeology and The Old Testament*

Members might be interested to know of this weekend, which starts on Friday evening and finishes after lunch on Sunday. Speakers include: Martin Biddle (Hertford College, Oxford University) and Dr Piotr Bienkowski (Liverpool Museum). Cost of weekend: £121 for a single room. Details from: the Archaeology Course Secretary, OUDCE, 1 Wellington Square, Oxford OX1 2JA. Tel: 01865 270369.

26 April

Half-day seminar at University College, London: *Tyndale: New Discoveries*

Speakers include Dr Eberhard Zwink of Stuttgart, who found the latest copy of the 1526 New Testament; Jane Carr of the British Library, and the Tyndale letter which was exhibited in London during the '*Let There Be Light*' Exhibition, currently touring the United States, and Kimberley Van Kampen on book collectors' discoveries and material from the Foxe papers.

8 July

Joint Evensong at St Dunstan's-in-the-West (where Tyndale preached) with the Prayer Book Society.

St Dunstan's is in Fleet Street, London. The service will start at 6.30pm.

2–4 July

John Foxe Colloquium, Jesus College, Oxford.

Speakers include Professor David Loades and Professor David Daniell. Details from Professor David Loades, Four Seasons Business Centre, 102B Woodstock Road, Witney, Oxfordshire, OX8 6DY. Tel: 01865 201615.

1–5 September

Saint Deiniol's Library.

A week of discussions and talks has been organized by The Revd. Ralph Werrell, 2a Queen's Road, Kenilworth, Warwickshire, CV8 1JQ. Tel: 01926 858677. For details see page 51.

1 October

Lambeth Palace lecture – speaker to be confirmed.

6 October

Gloucester Cathedral: Evensong with Men's Voices only.

Lecture by Sir Rowland Whitehead, with supper to be arranged around this event. Details to be confirmed.

October

Hertford College Lecture, Examination Schools, Oxford.

Date to be confirmed.

6–9 September 1998

3rd Oxford International Tyndale Conference.

Dates and venue to be confirmed.

*Details of the above lectures and events can be obtained from:
The Secretary, Tyndale Society, 10B Littlegate Street, Oxford OX1 1QT
Tel. 01865 791515, unless otherwise specified.*

CALL FOR PAPERS

PACIFIC COAST TYNDALE CONFERENCE:

America's First English Bibles

29 JANUARY – 1 FEBRUARY 1998

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

(On the campus of Point Loma Nazarene College,
overlooking the Pacific Ocean)

Proposals for papers of twenty-minutes reading length
on related topics are invited.

Please send proposals to:

Dr. Barry T. Ryan,

Department of History, Point Loma Nazarene College,
3900 Lomaland Drive, San Diego, California (USA) 92106
(or via e-mail to ryanHP@ptloma.edu)

Please address all other
conference inquiries to Dr. Ryan as well.

Costs on request.

A Weekend in Belgium

*Reprinted by kind permission from the Newsletter of
Basingstoke Archaeological & Historical Society*

Members were invited to join the Tyndale Society on this weekend organised by Graham Hall, a past chairman of our Society. My husband, Bob, and I took up the chance to join what turned out to be a select company of 11 in a minibus, and we crammed a great deal into a few days.

Some of us had a morning walking tour of Bruges – not walking exactly for our guide led us in an electric invalid chair. We thought that very enterprising and admired his fluent English, his knowledge and love of Bruges, and his sense of humour. He was full of information about the statues that adorn the exterior of the Chapel of the Holy Blood and the Recorder's House etc. One delight that is probably not seen by many visitors to Bruges is the courtyard of a convent, a building first owned by the Medicis. On the wall were superb medallion plaques of Lorenzo the Magnificent and his wife. A little nun came bustling out to show us something, opening a door to what we imagined might be a staircase – it turned out to be a loo which she thought we might need!

In the afternoon Bob and I spent a happy time in the Memling Museum, and also in the apothecary shop of St John's Hospital where an amazing bank of minute cupboards is exactly as it was in a 15th century painting; and where the portraits of Tutors give a wonderful sequence of faces from 1606 to the present.

Dr. Guido Latré from the Catholic University of Leuven had sent us a sheet of historical background, and he joined us in the evening at a Banquet to celebrate the marriage in 1468 of Charles the Bold to Margaret of York, sister of our own Edward IV. The entertainment included dancers, tumblers, a fire-eater and a Russian eagle!

Next day we moved on to Vilvoorde on the outskirts of Brussels, to visit the Tyndale Museum which displays material relating to William Tyndale, whose translation of the Bible became the basis of many since, and who was 'shopped' for heresy by agents of our Henry VIII and martyred at Vilvoorde. The Museum is attached to the Protestant Church, and we were delighted to be invited to attend the Sunday morning service there, followed by coffee with the small and very welcoming congregation.

Dr. Latré joined us again in Antwerp to guide us round the amazing Plantin-Moretus Museum. I could have spent a week there! Christopher Plantin set up a printing business attached to his house, which passed to his son-in-law Moretus and flourished there till the 19th century. Treasures include Rubens portraits of Plantin and his wife; early manuscripts; a variety of books in many languages, with fonts devised by Plantin (the Plantin typeface was one of the mainstays of hot-metal type); wonderful rooms in the house, with richly decorated leather wall-hanging; a room full of printing presses, with banks of type waiting to be used; the type foundry itself (upstairs!); and, a touch that delighted me, the proof-correctors' room.

The following morning Professor Latré gave us a walking tour of Leuven, leaving us for lunch in the capable hands of a research student who gave us the low-down on university life there – different in so many ways from English universities.

Barbara Applin



*Detail from The More Family, Household and Descendants, 1593–94
by Rowland Lockey*

TOUR TO THE LOW COUNTRIES, 16-21 MAY 1997

**TIMELINE HERITAGE TOURS has arranged a
long weekend in Belgium, for members of the Society,
to take place from Friday 16 May to Wednesday 21 May 1997.**

The itinerary will include such places as Bruges, Leuven (Louvain), Antwerp, Ghent and Vilvoorde. Travel will be by coach, using a sea crossing (there is at present no coach service on the Shuttle train). Accommodation will be in Nazareth, the English Convent in Bruges (which has accommodation for men as well as for ladies!) There will be a walking tour and free time for sightseeing in Bruges on the Saturday and, in the evening, a visit will be included to 'Celebrations Entertainment' in a tastefully converted mediæval church in the centre of the city.

This entertainment takes the form of a re-enactment of the marriage feast in 1468 of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, and Margaret of York, sister of our king, Edward IV. (This includes a mediæval banquet for guests and will be in place of the evening meal in the Convent.) The wedding took place at an important stage of development in relations between England and the Low Countries, which forms part of the historical background to the publication of Tyndale's second edition New Testament there, a couple of generations later. Also included in the trip will be a visit to the Tyndale Church and Museum in Vilvoorde (Sunday morning), a walking tour of the old quarter of Leuven and a visit to the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp. While at the museum, which is housed in a lovely old mediæval building, we hope to see a printing demonstration using equipment not very different from that with which Tyndale's Testaments would have been first printed. This will undoubtedly be the highlight of the tour, as in those days most printers cast their own type and some even made their own paper too. It is hoped that Dr Guido Latré will be able to assist in some of the activities, as last year.

The cost for the tour will be £389.00 per person, inclusive of 5 nights half-board accommodation, all excursions and visits. Subject to the availability of single rooms at the time bookings are received, there will be no single person supplement. The price quoted above is based on a group size of 25. If that number is exceeded the price may reduce slightly.

**If you would like to receive more information and a detailed itinerary,
please contact Graham Hall, Timeline Heritage Tours,
1 Schofield Gardens, Witney, Oxfordshire OX8 5JY
Telephone and fax: (01993) 779861.**

IMPORTANT: If you are interested in joining this tour, please apply very soon because the reservation option on our accommodation at the English Convent in Bruges expires on 21 March. The tour will not go ahead unless a sufficient number of persons have applied by then.

